Daily Report

East Europe

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-129 *3 July 1996*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

ALBANIA

Albania: Zhulali Thanks FRG for Aid to Peacekeeping Unit *[ATA]* 1
Albania: Kosovar Representative Says Independence 'Only Way' *[ATA]* 1
Albania: Human Rights Discrimination in FYROM Alleged *[ATA]* 1
Albania: Berisha Appeals to Opposition To Attend Assembly *[Tirana TV]* 2
Albania: PS Rejection of Berisha's 'Insincere' Invitation *[ZERI I POPULIT 2 Jul]* 2
Albania: Dailies Feature Reports on First Assembly Session *[ATA]* 3
Albania: 'No Accident' That U.S. Diplomats Not at Assembly *[GAZETA SHQIPTARE 2 Jul]* 4
Albania: Socialists Invite Democratic Party to Talks *[ZERI I POPULLIT 2 Jul]* 4
Albania: Meksi Sets Out Future Government's 'Main Goals' *[Tirana TV]* 5

BULGARIA

Bulgaria: Miners' Leader on Broken Cabinet Promises *[TRUD 2 Jul]* 6
Bulgaria: Energy Minister Discusses Loans, Strikes *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Bulgaria: Article Views BSP Leadership Struggle *[SEGA 27 Jun-3 Jul]* 6
Bulgaria: RDP Deputy Pleads for Third Force in Politics *[TRUD 28 Jun]* 7

CZECH REPUBLIC

Czech Republic: Experts Say Republic Cannot Afford Neutrality *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 1 Jul]* . 9
Czech Republic: Commentary on Rivalry Among Fighter Bidders *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 2 Jul]* 9
Czech Republic: Lockheed's Fighter-Sale Chances 'Increased' *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 29 Jun]* .. 10
Czech Republic: Daily Publishes Coalition Agreement *[PRAVO 28 Jun]* 11

SLOVAKIA

Slovakia: Comment: Meciar Preparing for Retreat From NATO *[PRAVDA 1 Jul]* 18
Slovakia: Communist Party Holds Congress, Elects Leadership *[PRAVDA 1 Jul]* 18
Slovakia: Hungarian Party Objects to Parliamentary Decision *[Budapest TV]* 18

HUNGARY

Hungary: Official Views Policy on National Minorities *[NEPSZAVA 29 Jun]* 20

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

B-H: Defense Secretary Perry Meets Izetbegovic *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
B-H: Gen Delic, U.S. Envoy Discuss Train-Equip Operation *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
B-H: 'More Intensive' U.S. Presence Anticipated *[DNEVNI AVAZ 28 Jun]* 22
B-H: U.S. IFOR Troops Cause Tension With Serbs in Doboj *[Pale Radio]* 23
B-H: Serb Officer on 'Combat Readiness,' IFOR *[Bad Vilbel BORBA 30 Jun]* 23
B-H: Defense Minister Views Future of Serb Republic *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) 27 Jun]* . 24
B-H: UN Experts Await Serb Permission for Body Retrieval *[AFP]* 27
B-H: Security Council Urged To Reimpose Sanctions on FRY *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
B-H: Casado Meets Mostar Mayors, Praises Voters *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
B-H: Opposition Leaders Assess Mostar Elections *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) 3 Jul]* 29

B-H: HDZ Head Says Croats Buoyed by Mostar Elections *[Mostar Radio]* 30
B-H: Article Views Difficulty Creating Central Bank *[DNEVNI AVAZ 22 Jun]* 30
B-H: National Bank President Confident of Bosnian Dinar *[DNEVNI AVAZ 22 Jun]* 31
B-H: Struggle To Protect Bosnian Dinar Described *[DNEVNI AVAZ 25 Jun]* 32
B-H: Entities Reach Agreement on Payments System *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
B-H: SDA Against Property Deals With Sarajevo Serbs *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
B-H: Plavsic Stresses Following Serb Republic Constitution *[SRNA]* 34
B-H: Plavsic Rules Out Karadzic, Mladic Extradition *[Pale Radio]* 34
B-H: Bildt Said To Overrule Steiner on Karadzic Issue *[London THE GUARDIAN 3 Jul]* 35

CROATIA

Croatia: Croatia Admitted to Membership of Council of Europe *[Zagreb TV]* 36
Croatia: Council of Europe Links Admission to B-H Election *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Croatia: Tudjman Receives Bosnian Croat Delegation *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Croatia: Transitional Police Force Takes Over in E. Slavonia *[TANJUG]* 37
Croatia: TV News Program Ordered Withdrawn; No Reason Given *[AFP]* 37

POLAND

Poland: Hillary Clinton Meets Women Activists in Warsaw *[PAP]* 38
Poland: Official Says U.S. Policy on NATO Expansion Stable *[SZTANDAR 2 Jul]* 38
Poland: Polish-German Naval Exercises End *[Warsaw TV]* 38
Poland: Kwasniewski on Concordat, Security Council, Elections *[PAP]* 38
Poland: Concordat Decision To Follow Adoption of Constitution *[PAP]* 40
Poland: Poll: Large Support for Solidarity Initiative, ROP *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2 Jul]* 40
Poland: Tombs Desecrated at Warsaw Jewish Cemetery *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2 Jul]* 41

ROMANIA

Romania: Daily Profiles New Head of Mission to NATO *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 27 Jun]* 42

SLOVENIA

Slovenia: Thaler Previews Talks With Croatia's Granic *[Ljubljana Radio]* 43
Slovenia: Kucan Calls EU Role in SFRY Breakup 'Significant' *[TANJUG]* 43
Slovenia: Christian Democrats To Hold Congress in Sep *[Ljubljana Radio]* 43
Slovenia: Daily Interviews Kacin on Army Modernization *[DELO 10-11 Jun]* 44

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

FRY: Agreement With UNHCR on Refugee Issue Signed *[TANJUG]* 48
FRY: Hague Tribunal Said To Accuse Only Serbs of Rape *[TANJUG]* 48
FRY: Parties Not Encouraged by Preliminary Results in Mostar *[TANJUG]* 48

Serbia

Serbia: Generals Reportedly Warn Against Mladic Extradition *[SRNA]* 49
Serbia: SDU Official Calls on Karadzic To Withdraw *[BETA]* 49
Serbia: Libel Case Against Democratic Party Leader Opens *[TANJUG]* 49
Serbia: Commentary Assails Djindjic in Marjanovic Slander Case *[Belgrade TV]* 50
Serbia: Deputy PM Rules Out Kosovo's Independence *[POLITIKA EKSPRES 1 Jul]* 50
Serbia: Academy Chairman Qualifies Remarks on Kosovo *[GLAS SRPSKI 22-23 Jun]* 51

Serbia: Kosovo Serb Petition to Milosevic Discussed *[NIN 31 May]* 52

Montenegro

Montenegro: Opposition Opposes Redrawing Republic Boundaries *[DNEVNI TELEGRAF 1 Jul]* 55

Kosovo

Kosovo: Human Rights Group Protests Arrest of Albanian Writer *[ATA]* 56

Albania: Zhulali Thanks FRG for Aid to Peacekeeping Unit

AU0307114196 Tirana ATA in English 1828 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 2 (ATA)—The Albanian Defence Minister Safet Zhulali held talks with the chief of the Centre for Interior Command, Brigadier General Hans Christian Beck and his delegation.

Zhulali thanked the senior German officer and the members of the delegation for their help and exchange of experience in the Military Academy and units.

He also thanked him for the readiness and contribution of the German side in preparing and completing the Albanian peacekeeping company whose forces will take part in IFOR [Implementation Force] to implement the peace plan in Bosnia.

Zhulali conveyed his thanks to the German Minister Ruehe saying that this visit and the recent qualification of the Albanian generals in Bundeswehr and other activities in the framework of bilateral cooperation and Partnership for Peace are a considerable support for the Albanian Army to promote democracy in Albania which was shown by the Albanian people in the free elections on May 26.

Brigadier General Beck confirmed his readiness to support and help the Albanian Army for a faster integration in the democratic society and introduction of standards of NATO's armies.

Albania: Kosovar Representative Says Independence 'Only Way'

AU0307121096 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 2 Jul 96

[Report by R. Floqi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 2 (ATA)—The sixth anniversary of the constitutional declaration on Kosova was celebrated under an actual point of view at the representative office of the Republic of Kosova in Tirana today.

"Contrary to 1990 when Kosova and its problem in the international arena are hardly known, today Kosova is one of the major issues which is being evaluated by the international opinion and community because it needs a quick and right solution which will be a guarantee for a lasting stability in the Balkans and all over the region," Iljaz Ramajli, representative of the Republic of Kosova said.

Six years ago on July 2, 1990, the Serbian authorities tried to hinder the meeting of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosova. Through this Serbia tried to prevent the decision taken by the then assembly that Kosova be an equal unit like other federal units in former Yugoslavia.

"On July 2 the parliamentary bodies in the world were unprecedentedly cut off," said Ramajli who was present when the deputies of Kosova were not allowed to enter the hall.

"But deputies by respecting the will of the Kosova people held the meeting out of the building of the Kosova Assembly and announced the constitutional declaration for an independent Kosova. Those were very difficult moments but there were also moments of pride because we were aware that we were doing what the Kosova people had dreamed about and that would evidently affect the history," Ramajli said.

The constitutional declaration was a determined act which led to other acts such as the declaration of the Republic of Kosova as a free and independent state and the campaign for free multiparty elections in Kosova which were not recognised by the Serbian administration. Now a parallel power is operating totally in the domestic level in Kosova.

"State bodies in the Republic of Kosova are organised in all fields of life and a general conviction is reinforced that the only way for Kosova is its complete independence," Ramajli said.

"The Kosova problem is known all over the world and this issue is included in the main agendas and a day will come soon when the international opinion, international community and Serbia will gather round the table and negotiate about its solution," said Ramajli in an interview to ATA.

Albania: Human Rights Discrimination in FYROM Alleged

AU0207092496 Tirana ATA in English 1145 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 1 (ATA)—A report of the "Human Rights Watch" organisation in regard to the human rights situation in Macedonia said that the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] Government is responsible for the human right violation. The report said that the status of minorities has been violated and especially that of Albanians. They have been discriminated in the public service sector where their employment percentage is very low as well as in field of education and use of ethnic language.

The reporters have suggested to the Macedonian Government to increase the number of the employed from

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the ethnic groups and to guarantee their rights in the field of information.

Albania: Berisha Appeals to Opposition To Attend Assembly

AU0207173396 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Jul 96

[Speech by Albanian President Sali Berisha at the opening of the 14th Session of the People's Assembly in Tirana on 1 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Honorable Deputies,

At the beginning of the proceedings of the new legislature, I would like you to allow me on this occasion to convey my deepest respects to the Albanian parliament and to you legislators, elected by a free vote, and wish you success in your noble work.

With this message, I would like to express my conviction that the new Albanian Parliament that emerged from the free and fair elections on 26 May will continue to follow with devotion the road embarked upon by the previous parliament and will honestly accomplish your historic mission at the end of this century. This parliament will give the country the laws that it lacks and will perfect new laws, so that Albania will enter the year 2000 with a complete and more perfect framework of a rule-of-law state, its institutions and laws. With its activity and its control over the executive, this parliament will render a great contribution to perfecting governing in Albania, consolidating new institutions, and rigorously implementing the law.

With its laws and entire activity, the new parliament will play a determining role in applying the Democratic Party's [PD] election program to Albania, with all Albanians equally profiting from its implementation.

With the new laws that it will approve, the new parliament will expand and consolidate the extent of the market and freedom and will be the main pillar of Albania's national dignity and sovereignty.

Through its laws and completely democratic procedures, the new parliament will provide the country with the entire judicial and institutional system on a European model, which will constitute the real judicial infrastructure of Albania's full integration into Europe.

With the strong ties that it will create with the parliaments of friendly countries in the region, Europe, and the world, as well as with international parliamentary institutions, and by ratifying cooperation agreements, treaties, and conventions with friendly countries and international institutions, the new Albanian parliament will render its fundamental contribution to consolidating Albania's friendship and establishing cooperation with these countries and institutions.

I would like to avail myself of this occasion to invite the deputies of the left-wing opposition to abandon their red boycott and not to become fellow culprits in one of the ugliest acts in the entire history of world democracy, an act that was carefully prepared somewhere to destabilize Albanian democracy and trample Albania's sovereignty underfoot.

Expressing my unwavering respect to all of them, I invite them to undertake all the responsibilities that derive from being elected and to represent with dignity the electorate, who entrusted their votes, hopes, and democratic and patriotic ideals in them, and to take an active part in constructing and consolidating the Albanian democracy, in order to turn the parliament, the temple of democracy, completely into a main pillar of the Albania edifice.

I would like to assure the deputies of the left-wing opposition and the opposition in general of the unwavering loyalty of the authorities that emerged from the 26 May elections toward the opposition and its role in the development of democracy.

To conclude, I wish you once again fruitful work for Albania's prosperity and democracy. Thank you. [applause]

Albania: PS Rejection of Berisha's 'Insincere' Invitation

AU0307100096 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Jul 96 p 2

[Commentary by Hamdi Jupe: "Enthusiasm for Bare Discussion Tables"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the demand of the Council of Europe for the formation of a roundtable of Albanian political parties, President Berisha and Democratic Party [PD] Chairman Tritan Shehu were the first to offer to organize discussion tables of the parties. However, this zeal on the part of those in power to organize discussions did not in any way rouse enthusiasm among Albanians, who are waiting for real and sincere dialogue among the parties to overcome the political crisis in which our country has been plunged since the spoiled elections of 26 May. However, in place of sincerity, the representatives of the state have offered hypocrisy. The Socialist Party [PS] understands the importance of dialogue, especially in the present situation, and is ready to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. However, it boycotted the president's table for reasons of principle. First, the

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agenda was such as to force the PS into the trap of recognizing as an accomplished fact the illegal parliament declared by Berisha. The PS has stated that it does not recognize the rigged elections of 26 May and consequently cannot take part in discussions about the structure of a government expected to emerge from an illegal parliament. The main issue facing the political parties is a solution to the crisis of 26 May. Only after this crisis is set on the road toward a solution can there be any mention of talks and the other necessary compromises to point the country toward new, free, and honest elections. The president has not done anything toward this, and under these conditions the PS could not respond otherwise to his insincere invitation.

The second reason of principle for boycotting the president's discussion table was the latter's disdain for the other political parties that participated in the 26 May elections, and whose votes were also spoiled. By behaving this way, Berisha is trying to exclude these parties from the political arena, deeming them to be nonexistent. This is his old tactic of keeping alive only those parties that lick the boots of the PD and Berisha, while asphyxiating other, genuine opposition parties. However, it is not in the hands of Berisha and the PD to decide the existence of alternatives, however harshly the state may treat them. They can obstruct to some degree the ideas and activities of the opposition, but can never annihilate them. Berisha and his cronies cannot dismantle political pluralism. These were the reasons why the president's meeting with the so-called opposition parties last Saturday [29 Jun] resembled a noisy farce. Those in charge of the state felt this themselves, and they therefore hastened, through the agency of PD Chairman Tritan Shehu, to try to organize a further party discussion table, this time with a different but still ridiculous topic, the "structure of the new parliament." Only a twisted mind can dream up such topics for party discussions at the present moment. With a practical parliamentary majority of about 90 percent, the PD has no reason to seek the views of other parties about how to structure the parliament. Tritan Shehu's worry is therefore not how to structure parliament, whose real nature everybody now knows. The state's aim in hurrying to organize such vacuous discussions lies elsewhere. The first aim of these maneuvers is to lure the PS into participating in the parliament. Even without the criticisms of the international community, the parliament today is in a lamentable condition. The so-called deputies themselves understand this, as do the Albanian people, who no longer want a single-party parliament. As for the democratic world, such a parliament is inconceivable and quite unacceptable. However, with their zeal to summon the parties to bare discussion tables, the PD and Berisha are also trying to gain political capital in front of the international public in order to recoup the losses they have suffered since 26 May. They are trying to tell Europe and the democratic world, "Look, we are in favor of dialogue among the parties, but the PS as always rejects it! So it is not our fault, but that of the 'Red front.'" This is a very naive ploy and it is hard to imagine anybody falling for it. The question that is at the center of the concerns of the public at home and abroad is not that of the crumbs that the government might offer to the opposition, but the basic question of the elections of 26 May. Unless this issue is put on the table, with real concern to settle it, there will be no dialogue among the parties and there will be no solution. The tables so far laid by the state have been decked not with roast ram, but with whey, and even those who take their seats know that whey is whey and not roast ram. Nevertheless, they continue to turn up and offer "valuable ideas" about the whey served by the head of the house, sometimes adding some "vital criticism," such as that it would be good for democracy if this whey were a little thicker. The idea in the minds of these guests at Berisha's table is, "better sour whey than a parched throat!" They know perfectly well that they in fact deserve no share of the roast ram of the people's free votes. Therefore they content themselves with the government's whey. The "parliamentary parties" (What a lovely name the government has given to parties with two deputies each!) are going to meet again today at Tritan's table to discuss the structure of the newly convened parliament. We hope they enjoy their whey.

Albania: Dailies Feature Reports on First Assembly Session

AU0207154196 Tirana ATA in English 0952 GMT 2 Jul 96

["Press Comments Opening of Parliament"—ATA headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 2 (ATA)—Almost all today's newspapers devote a prominent place to the opening of parliament.

The newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE reports on the parliament's first session proceedings under the title: "The Parliament of Freedom, Dignity, and Sovereignty of Albania."

The paper carries the message of President Berisha on this occasion and the opening address delivered by Republican Party Deputy Sabri Godo.

The paper also carries President Berisha's address at the joint meeting of the [PD] National Council and the Democratic Party [PD] deputy group under the title: "The PD Mandate Consolidates Albania's European

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Orientation," as well as the speech of PD chairman Shehu at this meeting.

ZERI I POPULLIT carries the editorial entitled: "We Do Not Recognise a Parliament Which Does Not Enjoy the Trust of the Albanian Electorate." The paper carries the article "Fresh Elections All Over the Country." The paper covers the meeting of the PS activists in Tirana in an article which says that "The Intensive Political Action at Home Will Accelerate Fresh Elections." It also carries the article: "Parliament Without Assembly."

REPUBLIKA carries the opening address of the Republican Party [PR] chairman Godo at the first session of the 14th legislature under the title: "This Assembly Should Make the Laws as Required by the People." The paper also carries a chronicle of the parliament's proceedings.

POLI I QENDRES under the headline: "The Parliament of Stolen Votes Convenes," the paper says that a government plunged in corruption cannot be renovated.

LAJMI I DITES, under the title "Fruitful Work for Albanian Democracy," carries the chronicle of the parliament's proceeding and the message of President Berisha.

RILINDJA carries the editorial: "The New Assembly Embarks on the Road Towards 2000."

TRIBUNA carries the editorial: "The Parliament Will Accomplish its Historic Mission." Under the title "Albania to March Towards the Road Suggested by Europe," the paper carries an interview with Speaker of Parliament Pjeter Arbnori, who calls on the PS deputies "To listen to reason." The paper also carries the article: "The Ice of Boycott Broken," regarding the participation in parliament of one of the ten socialist deputies.

KOHA JONE entitles the article on the opening of parliament: "The May 26 Illegal Deputies Gather."

In its editorial, the newspaper ALBANIA cites President Berisha as saying: "The Parliament Will Accomplish its Historic Mission." The paper carries an interview with the sole PS deputy participating in parliament, Sali Rexhepi, under the title: "Besides the Party I Also Have My Own Name."

DITA INFORMACION also reports on Monday's [1 July] proceedings under the title: "One Socialist and No American in the Hall." SINDIKALISTI carries the article: "Parliamentary Season Begins Under the Observation of the People and World."

GAZETA SHQIPTARE front pages: "The New Parliament Starts. No U.S. Representative in the Hall."

Albania: 'No Accident' That U.S. Diplomats Not at Assembly

AU0307101996 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 2 Jul 96 p 3

[Report by P.Re.: "U.S. Representatives Not in the Hall"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tirana—It was not only the Socialist deputies who stayed away from yesterday's opening of parliament. The Americans were also missing from the hall. No representative of the U.S. Embassy followed the first speeches of this legislature. Other diplomatic representatives were also absent, but it has become clear that the U.S. absence was no accident, but a diplomatic message about the 26 May election victory. Charles Walche, secretary at the U.S. Embassy [name and title as published], said late last night that "it would not be appropriate to attend any parliamentary ceremony or activity, because of the proved irregularities in the election campaign. We do not wish to convey the impression that the issue is closed." [passage omitted]

Albania: Socialists Invite Democratic Party to Talks

AU0307093596 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Jul 96 p 2

["Press statement" issued by the Socialist Party's Political Information Department in Tirana on 1 July: "The Socialist Party Is Open to Dialogue With All of the Parties That Took Part in the Election Campaign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the recent invitation addressed to the Socialist Party [PS] by President Sali Berisha to consultations with the parliamentary parties about the composition of the new government and the invitation sent by Professor Dr. Tritan Shehu, chairman of the Democratic Party [PD] about problems of the structure of the next parliament, we state:

The PS did not recognize the elections of 26 May and, as a result, will not take part in consultations organized by the parliamentary parties relating to problems of the current parliament that met on 1 July or any structure arising from it. We stress that the PS is open to dialogue with all the political parties that took part in the electoral campaign in accordance with the suggestions and resolutions of international institutions, whose aim is to unblock the serious political situation that has arisen in our country since the 26 May elections. Beginning dialogue among all the parties would also help to organize bilateral meetings between parties. In pursuit of this idea, the PS invites the PD to bilateral talks.

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Albania: Meksi Sets Out Future Government's 'Main Goals'

AU0207144696 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Jul 96

[Report by Marash Mirashi on Council of Ministers' meeting held in Tirana on 1 July, including interview with Albanian Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi after meeting—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The first democratic Albanian government, which emerged from the March 1992 elections, has come today to its end. It is this government, Prime Minister Meksi, and the other ministers who, having started everything from scratch, within four years managed with great devotion to bring the country to unimagined economic and political heights. [passage omitted]

The government's term of office ends here. But, how is Mr. Meksi to receive a vote of confidence from the Democratic Party's [PD] National Council on forming a new government?

[Meksi] It is a political and moral obligation for me and for all those who are to take part in the future government, because, as has been stressed on other occasions, the fundamental task of the new government is to continue the reforms and achieve many important elements of Albania's reformation toward a market economy and rule-of-law state. I hope that this is a serious, difficult, and sufficient task. [sentence as heard]

[Mirashi] Very little time is left until the nomination of the new government. Have you started to think about the new ministerial portfolios?

[Meksi] This is a task that belongs not only to the prime minister but also to the PD. Of course, we will be starting to think in this direction, with the aim of finding those able to cope with the new tasks.

[Mirashi] Can you tell the Albanian people what the government priorities will be over the next four years?

[Meksi] The basis of the PD program was to provide high rates of economic development and an increase in welfare. These two will be our main goals at the economic and human level. Other tasks will include continuing Albania's opening up to the world and reaching its European goal. Of course, in foreign policy areas, the Albanian national issue, the defense of the rights of Albanians, and the solution to the problem of Albanians in general will continue to remain priority tasks for the government. Another step may be to perfect the legal framework of the market economy, a modern administration, and a law-governed state. All these will occupy permanent attention within the government's overall activity and, I hope, that of the future parliament as well. Of course, public order, privatization, the return of property to its former owners, are all urgent tasks that the government should deal with in its first year of office. [passage omitted]

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Bulgaria: Miners' Leader on Broken Cabinet Promises

AU0207142896 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 Jul 96 p 2

[Interview with Pencho Tokmakchiev, leader of the Miners Union Federation of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, by Sonya Tasheva; place and date not given: "We Have Nothing More To Negotiate With This Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today miners throughout the country will be on strike against the decision to close down four mining companies. The cabinet has ignored the agreement signed with the miners' unions and broken its promise not to close down the Cherno More [Black Sea] mines.

[Tasheva] The government has deceived you, Mr. Tokmakchiev. TRUD predicted this would happen a month ago, when you opened negotiations with Interior Minister Nikolay Dobrev, who is responsible for the energy industry. What will you resort to now?

[Tokmakchiev] To holding strikes. We have nothing more to negotiate with this government. The government has only one choice left: to fulfill its promise and adopt the draft decree that it coordinated with us.

[Tasheva] Do you believe this will happen? Are you fools or optimists?

[Tokmakchiev] Whatever we may be, we will not let them mess around with us. We are now striking for only 24 hours, to warn the cabinet that the people facing it are no fools. However, the next strike will be the kind that a government will not survive.... It will not be held in the summer, at a time when electric power consumption is low, and the men of state are unlikely to be scared by our protests. However, during the autumn they will find they have need for us. Our response will depend on their response to us.

Bulgaria: Energy Minister Discusses Loans, Strikes

AU0207183796 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Energy Minister Rumen Ovcharov announced that he will propose at a meeting of the Council of Ministers this Thursday that the cabinet decide how foreign and domestic loans can be extended to companies in the mining and energy industries listed for rehabilitation so they can make repairs. Ovcharov made the announcement in Dimitrovgrad today at a meeting with chiefs of mining and energy industry companies from Khaskovo Oblast. None of the companies will be removed from the list, Ovcharov added, but we will help them carry out their rehabilitation programs.

Minister Ovcharov expressed surprise at today's strike actions by the miners. Negotiations over their demands have been under way for a month with leaders of the miners trade unions, he said, adding that it has become clear that it will be impossible to meet their demands.

Bulgaria: Article Views BSP Leadership Struggle

AU0207080496 Sofia SEGA in Bulgarian No 25, 27 Jun-3 Jul 96 p 19

[Article by Bozhidara Slavkova: "Pirinski—Videnov's Salvation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "As a presidential candidate Georgi Pirinski was given the task of saving the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] from disaster in the administration"—this is how sources at BSP headquarters in Sofia explained our top diplomat's mission.

In fact, the temporary truce between Videnov and Pirinski marks the start of a new stage in the struggle within the party, the result of which will depend on the outcome of the presidential elections. The posts of prime minister and party leader are at stake.

For the time being, Pirinski is in a winning position. In the coming months, he will be the image of the BSP promotion campaign and will receive massive coverage in the media. At the initiative of influential personalities and organizations, a movement called "Together for Bulgaria" will be formed that will seek wider support for the BSP presidential candidate. If he wins the elections, Pirinski will make the presidency a third center of power. According to the Constitution, the rights and obligations of the head of state are severely limited, but Pirinski has a group of lawyers around him who will interpret the basic law in such a way as to alter the status of the post. An old legal principle will come into play: "Everything that is not prohibited is allowed." According to the lawyers, Zhelyu Zhelev has not made use of most of the possibilities granted to him under the law.

If an objection is lodged in court against Pirinski's candidature either before or after the election, he will have gathered enough assets to make it logical to nominate him for prime minister. The election campaign will enable him to form and establish a solid team that is ready to assume power directly. He will also have behind him the structures of the "Together for Bulgaria" movement, which will not be regarded by the BSP members as something alien.

Videnov's situation is not so rosy. After 15 July, new attacks will start against the BSP-led government. "We

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know that we are unlikely to succeed in overthrowing Videnov prior to the elections, but talks are already under way," one of the emissaries explained. At the last BSP plenum, Yanaki Stoilov once again demanded the replacement of the entire cabinet. "No one seems to have understood anything," Videnov coldly countered on the following day, adding: "Such a proposal is being bandied about somewhere, but, in my view, it is not reasonable."

A number of schemes for cabinet shuffles are being hatched at BSP headquarters. According to the first, the prime minister is to be a person chosen from outside big politics, easily controlled, with a good image, a European orientation, and a handsome appearance. Behind him will stand strong deputy prime ministers, who will push the economy and politics forward. This is an improved version of the Lyuben Berov administration. His government relied on the support of economic groupings, which have now been pushed into the corner. Red emissaries have taken soundings in business circles and asked for the names of good economists who will win support for the government from private business as well. The most suitable person for prime minister is considered to be Nikolay Kamov. Asked to assess this alternative, Aleksandur Lilov preferred to abstain. The strategist has already declared that from now on he will concentrate on working for the alternative of Pirinski for president.

Last week, discussions were held about the prime-ministership with two other persons—a former deputy prime minister and an incumbent minister. For the time being, they declined the suggestion on the ground that now is not the right moment.

The only safe island of refuge for Videnov is the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group headed by Krasimir Premyanov, who still remains loyal to him. Premyanov's "spontaneous" urge to seek a vote of confidence that appeared at the BSP plenum on 23 June faded away on the very next day. "The issue of the resignation of the chairman of the Left does not lie within the competence of various deputies who have forgotten themselves, but of the leaderships of the BSP, the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and the Ecoglasnost Political Club," Videnov said in supporting him. The prime minister can hardly be expected to get rid of the lad he uses for dirty work at this particular juncture. For this reason, the issue of certain submitted resignations appeared on the agenda.

On the day of the no-confidence vote in the cabinet, Aleksandur Marinov declared that he intended to give up the post of deputy chairman of the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group. "I do not want to hold party posts at this particular moment," Marinov explained on the very day he lost his post as chairman of the BSP Sofia City Council. Many believe that this act of distancing himself from the BSP is in preparation for a new assault on the top party post. Lilov's call for an extraordinary party congress can, in practice, only be fulfilled after the presidential elections. Nobody knows who the new prime minister will be then, or whether a good foundation will exist for an attack on Videnov. From a realistic viewpoint, Marinov can only become BSP leader if the party splits. Therefore, he has firmly decided to split off the more liberal section of the BSP with a view to becoming its leader.

"The Socialists' organization in the capital is part of the BSP, not a third political force in the country," declared Nikola Koychev, the new leader of the Sofia Socialists, adding that "there can be no question of splitting the organization." He promised to strengthen the influence of the party organization and to improve the quality of their membership, which will mean throwing Aleksandur Marinov's last supporters overboard.

Bulgaria: RDP Deputy Pleads for Third Force in Politics

AU0207174096 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 Jun 96 p 20

[Article by Nikolay Slatinski, former SDS deputy and leading figure in the Radical Democratic Party: "From One Election to the Next, Bulgaria Is Going Downhill"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has once again fulfilled its historic mission and eliminated the figure that had the best chance of winning against Georgi Pirinski. From the point of view of the normalization of political life in Bulgaria, the result of the opposition presidential primaries bears out the most pessimistic forecasts.

The problem does not solely and simply lie with the Dr. Zhelev's own personal drama. Now, the hope of establishing a political center is for all practical purposes reduced to zero. What is more, this was a hope to achieve something that our country needs desperately: moderation, compromises in the name of genuine modernization and the Europeanization of our society, overcoming the sharp polarization, and a pragmatic administration.

The presidential elections will yet again be turned into a clash between the two mastodons, they will reconfirm the bipolar model, and deepen the split in the nation. They offered a chance for a third alternative political force to appear on the scene and establish itself.

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Now this potential force is smashed. The presidential elections will take place without it. The People's Union will stand aside from the elections and strive to establish the pretense of being a distinct, recognizable entity in the mist of the strife between the Reds and the Blues [SDS], instead of struggling manfully for its own identity.

The third force is needed as a safe haven for politicians who have abandoned or been abandoned by their parties. The simple fact is that the potential exists in our society for such a force. A third of our society is being systematically left without its own representatives in parliament.

A third force means making national interests a priority at the negotiating table. A third force is something without which it is impossible to govern the country; it stimulates people to engage in dialogue, to find a common language, common principles, and common solutions. Our society is sharply divided into many groups, with too many interests to make it possible for a single party that has retreated to the extreme wing of the political spectrum to rule it.

We are returning to six or seven years in the past. The BSP is employing the fear syndrome to mobilize its voters, while the SDS once again imagines to itself that it is the only opposition force and cannot tolerate even the suggestion that another force may exist outside it that is capable of opposing the BSP. The country was painted red in 1990, blue in 1991, and red again in 1994, and now the pendulum may well swing back toward the blue side. Evidently, one unsuccessful attempt is not enough to convince society that neither the BSP nor the SDS can rule the country by themselves. We have to trip over and smash our faces in a second time. On the first occasion, we look for a justification within the model that has been constructed and persuade ourselves that we stumbled because we were not looking where we were going, until the second unsuccessful attempt shows us that the mistake is due not to chance defects in the model, but in the model itself; it is not because the road is rough, but because it is the wrong one.

Society desperately needs consensus. The bipolar model destroys consensus. In the language of politics, consensus means a strong center. Our society needs the most competent and enlightened politicians to join the government and we have far too few of these. The bipolar model pushes them out to the sidelines. Our society has a need for ethics in politics. The bipolar model (in the Bulgarian form) is amoral. Our society needs compromises. The bipolar model encourages an aversion to compromise. Our society needs pragmatism. The bipolar model constructs an ideological interpretation for absolutely everything.

This means that Bulgaria will continue going downhill for a very long time yet, with short-lived stabilizations at ever lower levels, from standby agreement to standby agreement, from one election to the next. Elections in the guise of a hunt for lost votes, in a society left without a voice and without a right to choose, not according to someone else's wish, but according to its own will.

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Czech Republic: Experts Say Republic Cannot Afford Neutrality

AU0307062096 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 1 Jul 96 p 4

[Article by Jan Gazdik: "The Country Cannot Afford Neutrality, Claim the Military Experts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—If the new governing coalition, under the pressure of public opinion, were to give up on joining the North Atlantic alliance, the Army budget, according to Defense Ministry experts, would have to increase from the current 30 billion korunas [Kc] to Kc45 billion per annum in future years. That is, the armed forces would have to purchase certain weapons technology they could do without if the country were to join NATO.

Of course, according to the director of the Institute for International Relations, Otto Pick, neither society nor the country's economy is prepared for such a dynamic increase in defense expenditure. This is regardless of the fact that, according to the public opinion polls, 18 percent of citizens would reject the country's entry into the alliance in a possible referendum.

Indeed, even the country's conceivable entry into the alliance is associated with a far higher sum for armaments than has been the case until now. "But, from the long-term point of view, this will be incomparably less than if we were not to join the alliance," thinks Defense Minister Vilem Holan (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party).

The experts envisage that the Army budget will increase in the years to come from the current Kc30 billion per annum to Kc45 billion, which corresponds roughly to 2.6 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP).

Holan's deputy, Petr Necas (Civic Democratic Party), thinks that in the initial period following the country's admission to NATO, which will probably be in 1999, it will be necessary, in the short term, to earmark a sum closer to 3.0 percent of the GDP for defense—that is, a sum that, on average, the alliance's states spend on their armies. Three percent of the GDP now corresponds to about Kc40 billion.

Necas rejects neutrality, another option for guaranteeing the country's security. "If I pass over the fact that the country's economy does not have the means for this, it would work out incredibly expensively for us," he said. The Republic now spends roughly $100 per capita on defense, which is about Kc2,900, while the expenditure of neutral countries such as Switzerland amounts to $579 per capita.

Indeed, the defense minister has already pointed out that next year, in view of its contemplated admission into NATO, the Army will request the government more emphatically for a more significant increase in its budget.

Although the economists understand the arguments of Holan and Necas, they reject an increase in expenditure on defense because, at the moment, this is not within the potential of the country's economy. "They can say what they want, but the Army will get the same sum next year as it got this year. At most, it will be higher by the percentage of inflation," state many economists. Consequently, the military budget should not exceed Kc34 billion. "However, most likely it will be Kc32 billion," they add.

Czech Republic: Commentary on Rivalry Among Fighter Bidders

AU0207190196 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 2 Jul 96 p 4

["Analysis" by Jan Gazdik: "The Republic May Profit From the Modernization of the Air Force"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The negotiations on the sale of state-of-the-art Western fighters to the Czech Republic, which were kicked off this week by the U.S. industrial giant Lockheed Martin, are extraordinary for several reasons. Namely, weapon systems and industrial technology, hitherto embargoed for the postcommunist countries, are being offered to the Republic for the first time. At the same time, however, by means of the offer to purchase them, the country is seen, virtually from one day to the next, in the "club" that enjoys the political, economic, and security confidence of NATO.

The experts from the Foreign, Industry, and Defense Ministries assert that the North Atlantic alliance, since its establishment, has been keeping a meticulous eye on the states to which it intends to export strategic technologies that cause a revolutionary turnaround in their industrial development and defense capability.

Incidentally, Lockheed Martin and another U.S. company, McDonnell Douglas, make no secret of their intention that, if the Czech Republic were to decide to purchase older U.S. aircraft, domestic industry would take part in their modernization and also in the production of completely new fighters. Therefore, Lockheed Martin's president for Central Europe, Robert Clifford, is linking the delivery of F-16 aircraft and the efficient FPS-117 radar systems to acceptable long-term part payments and access for Czech companies to other so far inaccessible electronic, energy, and computer technologies and improving the environment.

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So, although in the opinion of the diplomats and industrialists it may seen paradoxical, a unique opportunity for the economy to profit from the technical modernization of the Army sui generis arises from the purchase of Western weapons for the Republic.

But Western arms plants would also like to profit from the modernization of the armies of the countries that are the hottest candidates for admission into NATO. Nevertheless, the government should make astute use of their rivalry in the advantageousness of their offers so that this extraordinarily costly investment has not only the most favorable possible security outcome for the country, but also the most favorable economic outcome.

McDonnell Douglas Vice President Jerry Daniels is far more modest in characterizing his company's business strategy than the people from Lockheed Martin. Like them, however, Daniels claims that McDonnell Douglas can soon make an advantageous offer of F/A-18 Hornet strike fighter bombers, long-term part payments, and extensive industrial cooperation with domestic industry.

"This is exactly what we wanted—let the Western arms plants fight, in the noble sense of the word, among themselves," says Deputy Defense Minister Petr Necas (Civic Democratic Party), who should soon take up the post of chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Security Committee, in assessing the zigzagging of the global firms.

Therefore, the oft-criticized tardiness of the outgoing Klaus Cabinet, which has had the plan for modernizing the Air Force on the agenda since February, may in the opinion of the experts be an astute economic and security move.

Czech Republic: Lockheed's Fighter-Sale Chances 'Increased'

AU0207143096 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 29 Jun 96 p 2

[Article by Jan Gazdik: "Lockheed Is Offering Fighters and Assistance for Industry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The U.S. industrial giant Lockheed Martin has increased considerably its chances of success in the Czech Republic. That is, the manufacturer of the F-16 fighter aircraft and state-of-the-art computer and energy systems met for the first time yesterday with the country's most important industrialists and the Army's top brass.

Lockheed Martin's president for Central Europe, Robert Clifford, said that cooperation between his company and local industry and the Army may push the Republic a considerable step forward in its attempt to join NATO. "Nevertheless, we do not view the offer as a condition for your admission into the alliance," emphasized Clifford.

Despite this, domestic experts point out that it would be worthwhile to wait and see what the other three Western firms—the U.S. McDonnell Douglas, the Swedish Saab, and the French Dassault—that are competing to modernize the Czech Air Force will come up with. So far, however, only Lockheed Martin has linked the arms offer to extensive cooperation with domestic industry.

Many bankers and economists think, therefore, that the government should make use of a situation in which it can dictate the conditions among the four Western companies competing to modernize the Air Force. "If the Cabinet is shortsighted, however, and does not make the modernization of the Air Force conditional upon the import of advanced technology or the incorporation of Czech industry into the activities of the Western firms, the country will squander an opportunity that comes along once a decade," said one of the industrialists.

The consultant for Lockheed Martin, Jan Ploc, said that the company is considering training for the pilots and ground personnel as well as modernizing the Czech repair shops that may be involved in the technical servicing of the fighters.

Robert Clifford confirmed that, if the Cabinet were to sign an agreement with the U.S. Administration in November, his company would be able to supply the fighters and the technical base and train the pilots and the ground personnel within 18 months. "The aircraft could be incorporated into the country's defense system as early as 1998—that is, beforer its admission to NATO," he said.

At the same time, Lockheed is offering to lease the fighters, to sell the older models, and to sell the new aircraft or a combination of all three options. It is not even insisting on a single payment inasmuch as it is offering long-term part payments.

Lockheed Martin experts would like to visit the biggest Czech arms plant AERO Vodochody; consultations have also been agreed upon with military pilots. The company's attempt to enter into the domestic market should culminate in talks with the industry, finance, foreign, and defense ministers.

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Czech Republic: Daily Publishes Coalition Agreement

AU0207111796 Prague PRAVO in Czech 28 Jun 96 p 3

["Complete Text of the Coalition Agreement Signed by the Chairmen of the ODS, the KDU-CSL, and ODA on 27 June 1996"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The signatories to the coalition agreement, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), henceforth just the coalition partners, have decided, on the basis of the results of the elections of 31 May and 1 June 1996, to form a coalition and constitute the Czech Republic Government with a policy statement that will comply with the policy section of this agreement (Appendix No. 1).

I.

The coalition partners respect the agreement on the distribution of departments within the government, on the adjustments to their jurisdiction, as ensues from Appendix No. 2, and the agreement on the distribution of posts in the Chamber of Deputies in accordance with Appendix No. 3 of this coalition agreement. The government will submit the corresponding changes in the jurisdiction law to parliament without delay. The coalition partners respect the right to propose changes in the personnel of the individual departments, ensuing from their distribution in accordance with Appendix No. 2, and in the distribution of posts in the Chamber of Deputies in accordance with Appendix No. 3.

Appendixes Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are integral elements of this coalition agreement.

In their ministries' personnel policy, the government members will respect the principle of a high level of expertise. In the Interior and Defense Ministries, the principle of filling the deputies' posts with experts nominated by the coalition partners following a consultative meeting of the coalition party chairmen, the appropriate minister, and the prime minister will be respected.

Given the agreement of the minister concerned, the post of deputy in other ministries (such as, for example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, and others) will be filled by experts proposed by the coalition partners.

II.

In the event of the restructuring of the Czech Republic Government, the agreed-upon ratio for the representation of the coalition partners, as proceeds from Appendix No. 2, will be maintained.

III.

All of the fundamental decisions and resolutions in the Czech Republic Government and parliament will be made following the mutual agreement of all of the coalition partners. Where no agreement is reached, the contentious issue will not be enforced.

IV.

In voting in the parliamentary plenum, in submitting deputies' draft laws, and in submitting amendments in the plenum, the coalition partners commit themselves to proceeding in accordance with Point III.

The coalition partners undertake to try to make sure that government proposals, including the government's points of view on deputies' draft laws and government members' answers to interpellations, obtain support in parliament.

The coalition partners pledge to coordinate their activity during the course of parliamentary proceedings and to exert every effort to find a consensual point of view—for example, agreements on a joint course of action.

V.

Regular consultations will be held among the coalition partners on issues associated with the fulfillment of this agreement and issues of further coalition cooperation. The aim of the consultations, conducted regularly at the level of coalition party chairmen, the most senior representatives of the coalition parties in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, the chairmen of their parliamentary clubs, and also the appropriate ministers depending on the issue being dealt with or, as the case may be, authorized persons, will be to seek joint points of view on the matters under discussion. Such consultations will be held regularly before every meeting of the Chamber of Deputies and before every meeting of the Senate at the level of the chairmen of the coalition parties plus the most senior representatives of the coalition parties in the Chamber of Deputies (Senate) plus the chairmen of the coalition deputies' (senatorial) clubs. Furthermore, such consultations will always be held if one of the coalition partners requests them, and at the level corresponding to them.

VI.

The coalition partners undertake to bear joint responsibility before the public for all of the joint decisions.

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VII.

All of the appendixes to this agreement and the appropriate addenda to it are integral elements of it and have to be approved by all of the coalition partners.

VIII.

All sections of the coalition agreement are binding for all coalition partners. The coalition partners pledge to support the government policy formulated on the basis of this coalition agreement throughout the period of validity of this agreement.

IX.

The coalition agreement is valid for the period of the second electoral term of the Czech Republic Chamber of Deputies.

X.

The complete wording of the coalition agreement will be published.

(Signed) Vaclav Klaus, Josef Lux, and Jan Kalvoda in Prague on 27 June 1996

Appendix No. 1

Policy Section of the Coalition Agreement

Part A

Preamble

The election results in the Czech Republic in 1996 have confirmed the democratic nature of our state and the desire of the overwhelming part of our citizens to live in a democratic country with a standard European-type market economy.

In the election year, the Czech Republic is a stable country that is generally regarded as an example of successful political, economic, and social transformation. Democratic principles, mechanisms, and institutions function in our country, and human rights and freedoms are guaranteed. The Czech Republic is one of the leading candidates for membership in the European Union and NATO. Our economy is developing successfully, and we are approaching the countries of the European Union in a number of economic indicators. Unemployment is very low, and the social status of those who need it is guaranteed by an effective and targeted [benefits] system. The speed of improvement in the environment sphere is exceptional, even in the European context, and offers hope for the rapid eradication of the damage caused by the communist regime. The current coalition government certainly deserves considerable credit for these results, but they have been heralded, first and foremost, by the citizens of this country, who, through their activity, have realized the scope and opportunities provided by democracy and a free market. The coalition parties are aware that, in order to continue along the path embarked upon, it will still be necessary to expend a great deal of effort. This is the commitment that they are making for the ensuing electoral period and that forms the basis of their joint program.

The coalition parties, on the basis of the cooperation begun during the last electoral period, on the basis of the many similar principles in their election programs, and on the basis of the trust they have been given by citizens in these elections and on the responsibility that ensues from this for them, have agreed upon the following principles for the joint government:

1. A Law-Governed State as the Guarantor of Freedom

We consider safeguarding the security and freedom of its citizens to be the basic mission of the Czech state. We will continue to constitute it to ensure that it becomes the guarantor of personal freedom for citizens and their rights, of a prosperous economy founded on the market principle, social responsibility, and solidarity, and of protection for the values that are our national heritage and of those that are important for the lives of future generations.

We place emphasis on respect for the Constitution of the Czech Republic. We agree on the intention not to alter the Constitution. We will defend jointly its basic principles and promote the fulfillment of all of the constitutional institutions. We will also continue to push for a state that is strong in the spheres that pertain to it and that does not interfere in the spheres pertaining to the free decisionmaking of citizens. We will, therefore, continue to develop the rule of law in a direction toward unequivocalness, simplicity, and lucidity and place emphasis on civil law so that the borderline between the two spheres—that is, the functioning of the state and private decisionmaking—is clearer and more precise.

2. The Position of the Czech Republic in the World

In foreign policy, we proceed consistently from the promotion of Czech national interests. We consider the Czech Republic's full membership in the European Union and NATO to be the key foreign policy objectives. The process of the transformation of our state outwardly will also be completed by their fulfillment. We proceed from the conviction that the Czech Republic

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belongs historically, politically, culturally, and economically to the Euro-Atlantic area of civilization and that it shares common values with it, values that we want not only to share, but also to protect and defend. We realize that achieving these two objectives depends, first and foremost, on us, on the citizens of the Czech Republic. We are prepared to proceed in all spheres of conducting state affairs so that we move closer to them, including in the appropriate level of expenditure on defense. The Czech Republic will accept the form of integration with the European Union that exists the moment it is admitted.

We will continue to maintain proper relations of partnership, especially with our neighbors and with all democratic countries and peoples. We share the conviction about joint responsibility for the stability of the Central European region. With regard to Germany, we will promote the further improvement of our relations. We will continue in the endeavor to ensure that these relations are oriented toward the future and are not burdened by legal and political issues stemming from the past. At the same time, we proceed from the indubitability of the outcome of World War II.

3. The Government's Economic Policy

We consider a prospering and stable economy to be the basis for the general well-being of the country and standard of living of our citizens. The road toward this is a free market based on individual responsibility. We will continue to strive to maintain a high pace of economic growth on the firm foundations of private ownership, free enterprise, and a stable currency. We are prepared to continue in transformation, first and foremost, in the privatization of enterprises and branches where there is no reason for the state to continue to maintain a stake, in the further deregulation of the markets, and in improving the quality of the operation of the capital market. We will continue to remove the bureaucratic obstacles to entrepreneurial activity.

We consider sound state finances to be a fundamental prerequisite for economic development. Therefore, we regard maintaining a balanced state budget and the constant struggle against inflation as vital tasks. We will continue to restrict the proportion of public expenditure in the gross domestic product and, at the same time, to reduce the tax burden.

4. The Role of the State in Guaranteeing Solidarity Among Citizens and in Caring for Past and Future Values

We agree that the state plays an undeniable role in fostering and organizing solidarity among citizens.

We consider caring for the citizens' health, education, science, and cultural heritage to be an important state task. We also see in each of these spheres broad scope for exercising individual responsibility and the citizen's free choice and for the activities of all sorts of citizens associations. We would like to maintain this scope, define it more clearly, and, where possible, even increase it.

We consider reducing the risks that threaten citizens' health to be the primary task for ecological policy. We view care for the environment, in which we prefer market instruments, as one of the decisive manifestations of our solidarity with and responsibility for future generations.

Part B

The Matter-of-Fact Priorities for the Ensuing Period

1. Housing

The coalition parties agree on the necessity of helping to increase housing construction and are prepared to provide an increased volume of funds from the state budget for this purpose. Progress will be made by:

—establishing a Support and Guarantee Fund for conducting business in housing construction (measures aimed toward conducting business in housing construction);

—making mortgages more accessible for physical persons to construct apartments or houses or to repair the housing stock (for example, providing guarantees for premortgage credit) and providing subsidies for the infrastructure;

—supporting communities in the construction of rentable socially priority apartments;

—continuing in the gradual deregulation of rents;

—speeding up the deregulation of rents under the condition of finding a suitable structure for social benefits for housing.

2. Health Care

The coalition parties agree on the necessity of a more fundamental systemic change in health care and, especially, in its financing, which, however, must not mean abandoning the basic guarantees and certainties in the provision of health care. This systemic change must be based on measures on both the supply side of health care and its demand side. These measures will include:

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—introducing more effective control and regulatory measures on the supply side (state regulation of investment activity; defining precisely the list of services, including the required medical procedure, and step-by-step aggregation—for example, to the capitation fee and the fee-per-hospital-bed per day up, to the diagnosis fee, the accreditation of workplaces, the categorization of medicines, and the supervision of the justifiability of the service and medicine prescribed);

—reducing the number of health insurance companies, improving the inspection system for insurance companies, and improving state supervision of their operation;

—introducing the most suitable methods for financing incentives for patients in the most economical range of health care;

—preparing the merger of sickness benefit and health insurance;

—defining clearly what will remain in state hands and what will acquire a different form of ownership or, alternatively, what will be guaranteed by the state (including the rapid completion of the privatization process in health care);

—converting part of the hospitals' bed stock to facilities for long-term patients.

3. Transportation

The coalition parties agree that, in the ensuing period, it will be necessary to focus the state's attention on two fundamental spheres:

—providing an internationally comparable standard of main transportation thoroughfares (railroad corridors, highways, airports) by means of extensive state investments that will also have the required multiplication effect on domestic industry and construction;

—improving the standard of the public transportation service in outlying areas (including increasing subsidies from public budgets) to facilitate transportation to employment, schools, health-care facilities, and the authorities.

4. Agriculture

The coalition parties agree that it is necessary to complete the restitution and transformation processes, that it is necessary to contribute to preserving the natural foundations of country life and to create job opportunities in the countryside, that it is necessary to strive for land conservation, to also utilize agricultural land for nonfood purposes, to adhere to ecological courses of action, and, at the same time, that it is necessary to improve the stability of the food market. Furthermore, we would like to:

—support agriculturists in regions with poorer farming conditions;

—contribute to the settlement of the transformation quotas from the agricultural cooperatives;

—protect Czech agriculture thoroughly from subsidized imports and initiate, in this regard, essential talks abroad.

5. The Economy

The coalition parties agree on the necessity of rapidly completing the transformation processes and agree also on the basic objectives of economic policy, which are monetary stability based on long-term equilibrium in the balance of payments, reducing the rate of inflation, maintaining the growth of the gross domestic product on the order of 5 percent per annum, and maintaining a low rate of unemployment. They also agree on the necessity of continuing in the policy of a balanced state budget and in reducing taxes (including capital gains tax) and the overall levy burden so that there is a decline in the proportion of expenditure from public budgets in the GDP on the order of 1 percent per annum, or even more if possible. Therefore, they are prepared to:

—rationalize the management of state enterprises and adopt measures facilitating the effective exercising of the state's ownership rights in enterprises in whose ownership the state has a significant stake;

—finalize as quickly as possible the implementation of the approved privatization projects;

—draft and implement a strategy for the next course of action in the privatization of banking and certain strategic industrial enterprises;

—strive to improve the protection of the domestic market (an antidumping and "antisubsidy" law);

—guarantee, within the framework of support for exports, the expansion of the services and financial resources of the EGAP [Export Guarantee Insurance Company] and Czech Export Bank and intensify support for exporters from Czech representative bodies abroad;

—adopt decisive measures against monopoly and cartel tendencies and agreements;

—simplify further and make transparent the conditions for conducting business;

—prevent, in the interest of consumer protection and market quality, the corporatization and syndicalization of our economy;

—prepare to lower inheritance tax and change the concept for deeds of covenant;

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—contribute to greater transparency on the capital market (including separating the investment funds from the banks);

—review the extant economic and business legislation;

—change the deduction systems so that they stimulate investment activity.

6. Social Policy

The coalition parties agree on the necessity of perfecting the overall system for the state's social policy, on the need to valorize regularly pensions and the minimum subsistence level with the aim of maintaining the current balance between average pensions and salaries, and on the need to maintain a targeted system of social support. They will not return to the discussion on changing the age limit for retirement. In the ensuing period, it will be necessary to focus on:

—simplifying the administration associated with the system for state social support and on harmonizing the whole system;

—finding a reliable system for separating pension insurance from the state budget (while guaranteeing the long-term financability of the pension system without an injection from the state budget) in the direction of a fund system;

—tightening supervision of the payment of all kinds of social allowances;

—increasing the role of communities in decisionmaking on social assistance;

—assessing the system of social allowances (with regard to minimizing the resources passing through the state budget);

—developing a competitive environment in social services (by setting conditions and a means of support for nonstate humanitarian and charitable organizations).

7. State Administration and Self-Administration

The coalition parties agree to proceed in the implementation of the territorial-administrative reform of the state, reform that will mean rationalizing public administration, that will select the optimum level for decentralizing the individual public decisions, and that will respect the natural regional ties within the Czech State. Furthermore, the coalition parties agree on the necessity of reducing considerably the bureaucratic nature of the authorities. In this context, it will be necessary to:

—set up regional self-administration (including the accompanying legislation) in this electoral term;

—review the jurisdiction of all levels and institutions of public administration—of the authorized communities, districts, supradistrict regional self-administration, and the central authorities—with the aim of achieving further significant progress in deregulating and liberalizing the activities of citizens (and communities);

—prepare, after assessing the current situation, a change in the law on budget rules (with special regard to small communities with small revenues);

—prepare laws on state service, on state property, and basic civil law codes.

8. The Fight Against Crime and Other Negative Phenomena

The coalition parties are unable to become reconciled with the series of phenomena in our daily lives that the collapse of the totalitarian regime has brought with it in the sphere of crime, organized crime, and drugs. They are ready to:

—toughen the penalties for the culprits of societally extraordinarily serious crimes and repeat offenders;

—speed up criminal proceedings;

—increase the suppression of drug distributors and seek ways of prosecuting other persons who come into contact illegally with drugs;

—strengthen the position of the injured party and victim of crime;

—conduct the recodification of civil and criminal law;

—simplify the administrative procedure for misdemeanors.

9. Miscellaneous

The coalition parties want to cooperate in resolving a whole series of other issues such as:

—preparing a full stop to restitution. This will contain two elements: concluding the restitution processes and thus introducing stability into ownership relations, and completing the process of alleviating the wrongs of the communist regime by returning some property to churches and religious organizations (in accordance with a special protocol) and, in a more moderate system, by returning some property to societies and legal persons (composed exclusively of physical persons). Physical persons and communities (and legal persons under civil law) will be excluded from the group of persons obliged [to return property]; financial compensation will not be provided for depreciated property and for property that cannot be handed over;

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—completely resolving relations between the state and the church;

—fully dealing with education fees and other contentious points of the university law;

—introducing compensation for the essential ecological restriction of economic activities in protected zones and areas;

—resolving fully the principles of support for nonprofit organizations;

—seeking a concept for compensation for the costs that accrue to the owners of historic monuments by adhering to the restrictions that proceed from the law.

Appendix No. 2

Distribution of Departments Within the Government

1. Prime minister	ODS	V. Klaus
2. Deputy prime minister/ agriculture minister	KDU-CSL	J. Lux
3. Deputy prime minister/ justice minister	ODA	J. Kalvoda
4. Deputy prime minister/ finance minister	ODS	J. Kocarnik
5. Deputy prime minister/ foreign minister	ODS	J. Zieleniec
6. Defense minister	KDU-CSL	M. Vyborny
7. Interior minister	ODS	J. Ruml
8. Trade and industry minister	ODA	V. Dlouhy
9. Labor and social affairs minister	ODS	J. Vodicka
10. Education minister	ODS	I. Pilip
11. Health minister	ODS	J. Strasky
12. Culture minister	KDU-CSL	J. Talir
13. Transportation minister	ODS	M. Riman
14. Environment minister	ODA	J. Skalicky
15. Minister for the development of the regions, towns, and communities	KDU-CSL	J. Schneider
16. Minister without portfolio	ODA	P. Bratinka

The deputy prime ministers act for the prime minister in the order listed above.

Jurisdiction in the majority of ministries is unchanged. In addition to his hitherto jurisdiction, the minister without portfolio will supervise the Council for the Coordination of the Intelligence Services, and the minister for the development of the regions, towns, and communities will take over the jurisdiction of the former Economy Ministry, with the exception of the transfer of:

—telecommunications and posts (to the Transportation Ministry);

—preparation of trainees for employment (to the Education Ministry);

—the center for foreign aid (to the Foreign Ministry);

—economic mobilization (the discussions will be concluded later);

—the state information system (will be agreed upon later, with its possible appropriation to the CSU [Czech Statistical Office]);

—support for exports, raw-material policy, the utilization of mineral wealth and geological research, and licenses (to the Trade and Industry Ministry).

The prime minister will carry out the function of minister for economic competition until changes are made in the jurisdiction law.

Jurisdiction in water management will be transferred from the Environment Ministry to the Agriculture Ministry.

The government's Legislative Council will be chaired by the deputy prime minister/justice minister.

The jurisdiction of the ULVS [Office for Legislation and Public Administration] will be transferred to the Justice Ministry or, conceivably, the Interior Ministry (in accordance with a future agreement).

The minister for the development of the regions, towns, and communities will be entrusted with managing the former Economy Ministry.

The coalition parties will try to make the changes in the jurisdiction law as soon as possible (best of all, during the course of the July plenum of parliament).

Appendix No. 3

Agreement on the Joint Course of Action in the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament

The signatories to the coalition agreement, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic

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Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), henceforth just the coalition partners, pledge to strive effectively to make sure that the deputies representing the coalition parties support the following in their deputies' clubs:

1. Setting the number of Chamber of Deputies of Parliament [PSP] deputy chairmen at five, with the proviso that the coalition deputy chairmen will be nominated and elected in the recommended order of:

1) PSP first deputy chairman	ODS	J. Vlach
2) PSP deputy chairman	KDU-CSL	J. Kasal
3) PSP deputy chairman	ODA	K. Ledvinka
4) PSP deputy chairman	ODS	J. Honajzer

2. The establishment of these committees (apart from the committees whose constitution proceeds from the law):

—Constitutional and Legal Committee

—Economy Committee

—Defense and Security Committee

—Committee for Social Policy and Health Care

—Committee for Public Administration, Regional Development, and the Environment

—Committee for Science, Education, Youth, Culture, and Physical Training

—Foreign Affairs Committee

—Agriculture Committee

3. Setting the number of committee members as follows:

Organization Committee	27
Mandate and Immunity Committee	12
Petition Committee	20
Budget Committee	20
Constitutional and Legal Committee	20
Economy Committee	20
Defense and Security Committee	20
Committee for Social Policy and Health Care	20
Committee for Public Administration, Regional Development, and the Environment	26
Committee for Science, Education, Youth, Culture, and Physical Training	26
Foreign Affairs Committee	20
Agriculture Committee	20

4. Selecting the chairmen for the aforementioned committees in the constituent meetings of the committees and in confirming the election of the chairmen of the Chamber of Deputies' committees as follows:

Mandate and Immunity Committee	ODS	[blank]
Petition Committee	ODS	[blank]
Constitutional and Legal Committee	ODS	[blank]
Economy Committee	ODS	[blank]
Defense and Security Committee	ODS	[blank]
Committee for Science, Education, Youth, Culture, and Physical Education	ODA	M. Prokop
Foreign Affairs Committee	KDU-CSL	V. Holan

5. In the constituent meetings to decide the delegations elected by the Chamber of Deputies, the following coalition deputies as the chairmen of these delegations:

PSP permanent delegation in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly	KDU-CSL	J. Karas
PSP permanent delegation for cooperation with the European Parliament	ODA	D. Kroupa
PSP permanent delegation in the North Atlantic Assembly	ODS	[blank]
PSP permanent delegation in the Interparliamentary Union	KDU-CSL	P. Tollner

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Slovakia: Comment: Meciar Preparing for Retreat From NATO

AU0207161296 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Jul 96 p 4

[Commentary by Leopold Moravcik: "Retreat Route From NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During his stay in Strasbourg on Wednesday, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar sketched a rather detailed concept of Slovak policy toward NATO. In addition to expressing interest in membership in the Atlantic alliance, however, he mentioned several facts that seemingly give Slovakia a certain specific position in Europe.

This is particularly true of those parts of his argument that gave painstaking consideration to Russia's stand. The arguments can be summed up as follows: If NATO membership leads to a change in the spheres of influence in Central Europe, and if Russia perceives that change as a threat, there will be a new division of the balance of power in the world that will be extremely unfavorable for Slovakia, across whose territory 80 percent of Russian energy resources are transported. A logical conclusion follows: Under these conditions, NATO does not mean safety and stability for Slovakia.

While it is impossible to deny the internal logic of this argument, it was still possible to detect in Strasbourg a certain shift in the Slovak position—away from Brussels and toward Moscow. The prime minister's comments [pripomienky] regarding NATO, whether it was in his speech to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly or in his replies to deputies' and journalists' questions, were so overriding, in fact, that the impression arose that they were meant to pave the way for a retreat. They sounded like preparations for creating a suitable atmosphere in case Slovakia drops out of the group of leading candidates for NATO membership.

Slovakia: Communist Party Holds Congress, Elects Leadership

AU0207182096 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Jul 96 p 2

[Article by Brano Ondrus: "Communist Party of Slovakia: We Will Become a Parliamentary Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The development of the Slovak Republic in the light of the program of the Communist Party of Slovakia [KSS] was the main document adopted by the Second KSS Congress, which was held in Bratislava over the weekend [29-30 June]. It formulates as the Communists' strategic goal the building of a socialist society, support for small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, particularly in services, and the complete elimination of unemployment.

The program, which also criticizes the political system that has been built in our country according to the West European and U.S. model, was approved unanimously by all 315 delegates. As KSS Chairman Vladimir Dado told PRAVDA, the KSS has at present 19,615 members in all districts of Slovakia. Most of them are old-age pensioners, however. This is why the debate at the congress concerned ways of appealing to young people. The KSS chairman told PRAVDA, furthermore, that the diversified social composition of party members, a considerable proportion of whom are entrepreneurs (40 of them were even among the congress delegates), should demonstrate the party's modern nature. The delegates' criticism focused on the present social situation of the majority of the population and on privatization. The congress was attended by Lubomir Fogas, deputy chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], who told PRAVDA about his presence that "the decision about it was made in the Presidium. The SDL feels responsibility for preventing in future elections a confrontation within the left-wing part of the political spectrum."

The congress elected a 48-member Central Committee, which formed a 17-member Presidium. Vladimir Dado was reelected KSS chairman. Stefan Murin, a former deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, became the new deputy chairman. The other deputy chairmen—Ivan Hopta, Jozef Sevc, Karol Uhrik, and Michal Zozulak—and the KSS central secretary, Ladislav Jaca, were all reelected. According to Vladimir Dado, all party efforts will now be concentrated on preelection preparations, because, as he hold journalists, "not only I am convinced that, after the next elections, the KSS will be a parliamentary party."

Slovakia: Hungarian Party Objects to Parliamentary Decision

LD0207210096 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1900 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Another Hungarian headmaster has been dismissed in Slovakia. The headmaster of the primary school in Rimavska Sobota was also dismissed without explanation by the Slovak educational authorities.

At a press briefing held by the Coexistence Political Movement today, the movement's leaders also expressed their opinion about the Bratislava parliament's decision taken yesterday on Hungarian monuments erected for the commemoration of the Hungar-

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ian conquest [the occupation of the Carpathian basin by Hungarian tribes 1,100 years ago].

[Correspondent Alfred Somogyi] The [Slovak] parliament's resolution is entirely unnecessary, since the parliament is not entitled to influence local government decisions. The resolution condemning the erection of monuments to the 1100th anniversary of the conquest only serves to stir up anti-Hungarian passions, Arpad Duka-Zolyomi, deputy chairman of Coexistence, said.

He said that the Hungarian nation had never questioned the historical values of the Slovak nation. We expect the same attitude from the majority [Slovak] nation regarding our historical memorials and monuments which are sacred for us. For that matter, both the framework agreement on minorities and the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty empowers Hungarians to look after and erect their own historical memorials, Arpad Duka-Zolyomi said.

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Hungary: Official Views Policy on National Minorities

AU0207095596 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 Jun 96 p 7

[Interview with Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary at the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office, by Istvan D. Denes; place and date not given: "To Free Ourselves of Emotional Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Denes] Society's relationship to the Hungarians living beyond the border has changed. One can often see irritability and a lack of understanding, and many people even express their negative feelings in public, saying that all the "foreigners" do is create trouble. In your view, why has public opinion changed around in the past year?

[Tabajdi] Undoubtedly, Hungarian public opinion has been less understanding and tolerant in the issue of Hungarians beyond the border and in national minority issues generally. The general reason is that 70 percent of this society has only experienced becoming worse off in the past six to seven years. What they can see around them is that solidarity does not exist in any area.

The other reason is that the Antall and Boross governments gave the impression to Hungarian society that the Hungarians beyond the border were more important than society in Hungary, although this was not the actual case.

The third reason is a practical one: Although not in great numbers, Transylvanians are present on the Hungarian labor market. All this is aggravated by the attitude of some minority Hungarian leaders who only talk about the negative facts and the difficulties, often questioning the Hungarian Government about things it does not have and no Hungarian government can have.

[Denes] Following the 1994 change of government, disappointment could be seen in the statements and political stance of certain Hungarian leaders beyond the border. They were worried that the case of the Hungarians beyond the border would become less important or get different emphasis in the new political setup. Undoubtedly, many of the Hungarians beyond the border became uncertain because they were not used to governments coming and going, but support for the Hungarians beyond the border remains a constitutional task. [passage omitted] At the moment, the West better understands that, when Hungary raises the justified needs of the national minorities—even the need for autonomy—there is no stealthy and sneaky intention behind it for border revision.

[Denes] Is it not possible that this process of understanding was greatly assisted by the Balkans tragedy? That the governments of Western Europe have reassessed their policy on eastern Europe's national minorities?

[Tabajdi] The Dayton agreement, in spite of all its values, did not answer certain basic questions, it did not give the structural and institutional guarantees that apply to the lasting and effective protection of national minorities. A broad system of autonomies should have been institutionalized. In my view, in the case of other central European minorities, too, a solution can only be reached by establishing various types of autonomies. At the same time, the Bosnian situation has also made the community of nations uncertain because it brought the most extreme example of conflict between national minorities and nations, and many people all over believe they can see a potential Bosnia in the emergence of all national minority efforts.

One of the most important results of the past two years is the fact that we have tried to make people understand: Hungarian foreign and national minority policy is not heading toward a Bosnia. On the contrary, we have made progress in making people realize—although neither NATO nor the European Union can yet see it clearly enough—that the problems here are not Hungarian-Romanian, Hungarian-Slovak, or Hungarian-Yugoslav interstate problems. The point is not that Hungary should settle its relationships with these countries. Hungary has settled interstate relations, but the conditions within these countries are not settled. Some of the neighboring countries have a shortfall in democracy, human rights, and minority rights. This is the essence of the problem. Obviously, these issues must be settled in Bucharest, Bratislava, and Belgrade, not in Budapest. All Budapest can do is make itself heard and defend the interests of the Hungarians living there, but it is these government that have to initiated dialogue with the local Hungarians and settle this issue.

[Denes] So the shortfall in democracy is one of the reasons for the irritated and intolerant statements in connection with the autonomy efforts of the Hungarians beyond the border.

[Tabajdi] This is one of the reasons; it would be a huge step forward if a decentralized public administration system existed as in Western Europe. The other, at least as important reason is the principle of the exclusiveness of the nation state, and that the sense of uncertainty, which mainly has ideological and political roots and is partly fueled by a nationalist anxiety for the nation, is very strong in the political elite of some of the neighboring countries. On the other hand, the creation of an enemy image is an excellent means to avoid having to answer the painful questions of privatization and the necessity to change the welfare systems. In central and

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eastern Europe, the nationalist argument is an excellent means of legitimization for very important political forces. These forces still wish to depict Hungary as a factor of instability. For this reason, it is important to show to the world that we are not a factor of insecurity. On the contrary, since Trianon, for 76 years, the Hungarians living beyond the border have never once used violent means. The West also has a Pharisaic attitude. They want to question Hungary and its neighbors about something that took decades for Italy and Austria to achieve. In many cases, undeservedly, they want to exert the same pressure on the Budapest government as on Bucharest for example, although Hungary has long done its share on the road leading to compromise because it went beyond the Helsinki principles on the border issue. In minority issues, they try to persuade Hungary not to set the standard so high. Hungary is not placing the standard high at all because even Paragraph 11 of the often debated Council of Europe Recommendation 1201 does not contain the territorial autonomy that the South Tyroleans were given. In addition to several European examples, this autonomy was also granted to Corsica within France.

[Denes] Can the Hungarians beyond the border present some kind of autonomy concept that can be expressed and interpreted in some sort of European sense? There is a big debate on this issue between the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania and other Hungarian political groups in Transylvania, but it is viewed differently in Slovakia, and differently again in Serbia.

[Tabajdi] The Hungarians beyond the border are still unable to express their own needs effectively enough. One of the problems is that they often use terms that are not properly clarified. I am not talking about the fact that the West does not like the notion of collective rights or that it has an inconsistent attitude to it. The point is that the documents of the Hungarian organizations beyond the border often do not properly explain just what they mean by this. At the same time, it also has to be seen that two important and changing factors exist here. These are the basic notions without which it is impossible to settle the national minorities' situation, namely collective rights, various forms of autonomy, and the internal government or, in other words, limited self-determination. These notions are seen as unacceptable in central and eastern Europe. Western Europe has a particular attitude to them: They do not talk about them, but they implement them. France gave pure autonomy to Corsica without calling it autonomy. This also proves that the content is the essence. We are living in a trap of terminology, as more than 50 national minorities in 16 countries of Europe have been given some kind of autonomy. On the level of doctrines, western Europe often denies collective rights, but, in reality, it does grant collective rights. When they say that the demands of the Hungarians beyond the border are too radical, then we must refer to the western European practice, proving that these national minority rights have already been settled in the West. [passage omitted]

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B-H: Defense Secretary Perry Meets Izetbegovic

AU0307102396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry arrived in Sarajevo this morning to mark 4 July, U.S. Independence Day, together with the U.S. troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Secretary Perry has met Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the talks with President Izetbegovic, Perry will hold talks with Federation President Kresimir Zubak, Defense Minister Vladimir Soljic, Deputy Defense Minister Hasan Cengic, and Generals Delic and Budimir.

We will report on the details of these talks in our next news programs.

B-H: Gen Delic, U.S. Envoy Discuss Train-Equip Operation

AU0207181496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today in Sarajevo, General Rasim Delic, chief of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, held talks with James Pardew, the U.S. President's special envoy for affairs concerning the development of the Federation's army. The two exchanged opinions about details specific to the adoption of the defense act and steps that should be taken to facilitate the implementation of the Train and Equip operation. Gen. Delic emphasized the readiness of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to support the implementation of the operation, pointing out that the preparations under way with a company that will be implementing the Train and Equip operation are progressing at the anticipated pace.

B-H: 'More Intensive' U.S. Presence Anticipated

AU0307112596 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 96 p 3

[Unattributed commentary: "Clinton's 'Yes' and 'Stop'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. aid for the reconstruction and strengthening of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina can now start, since U.S. President Bill Clinton confirmed on Wednesday [26 June] that the Bosnian Government has removed all foreign soldiers from its territory and stopped the intelligence cooperation with Iran. Following this news, the first $70 million in reconstruction aid was announced, and one can expect that the Law on the Defense of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be adopted quickly so that the "Train and Equip" program can begin.

There need be no doubts now that the U.S. presence on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be more intensive and that there will be fewer reserves. The cooperation between Sarajevo and Washington is entering a new stage, with the prospect of further development. At the same time, the chapter that included many unpleasant scenes and assessments, some of which resulted in real scandals, is over. We hope it is over now.

The Americans, who are fond of marketing, have assiduously advertised their activities in Bosnia so far. They also insisted on the removal of foreign soldiers and on a break with Iranian intelligence activity by making these two issues conditions for financial help. The U.S. aid granted to Bosnia-Herzegovina is probably not the most aid ever granted to a country by the United States, but it is the most important. The only superpower not only gives, it also directs important financial flows. The famous Wall Street is in that country.

The relations between Bosnia and the United States should not be viewed only in terms of the green banknote bearing the image of George Washington. Political support is more important, since it also determines economic developments. Far more powerful countries than Bosnia esteem the opinions and attitudes (and even requirements) of the U.S. Administration.

At the end of the war—which was predominantly brought about by the United States—Bosnia was in a position to choose between the heart and common sense. Between those who fought for the country and those who can prevent possible new bloodshed. The decision was dictated, and it can be hoped that the friends understood each other.

Nothing happens overnight, so one cannot expect that U.S. businessmen will storm Bosnia now, but the declaration of the State Department shows a clear perception of the political circumstances in Bosnia, which are now better than they used to be. They are far from brilliant, but, with the capital influx from the United States and—which is even more important—with the global U.S. influence, things are becoming not only clearer, but also more stable. The future of Bosnia-Herzegovina has also been more certain since the moment when the United States energetically rejected the idea of establishing a protectorate and decided to organize elections instead.

Bosnia has entered a new stage in which the powerful sponsor is becoming a very important ally in the preservation of the sovereignty of Bosnia. The U.S. policy shows that it makes a strong distinction between Bosnia and a "banana republic," which is a special compliment to our highest-level state leadership, which has been pursuing a consistent policy. It won over

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the skeptical questions and exaggerated reproaches of official Washington and the U.S. media about foreign mercenaries and "the intelligence activity" in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is obvious that Clinton's green light for undisturbed economic aid for Bosnia-Herzegovina and the red light for the alleged European idea of a protectorate represent events of strategic importance for our country and for the region as a whole.

B-H: U.S. IFOR Troops Cause Tension With Serbs in Doboj

LD0207171696 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The irresponsible behavior of members of Implementation Force [IFOR] in Doboj is increasing the tension in relations between the members of the international forces and the local population. Here are the details from Ljubinko Djuric:

[Djuric] The incident which was incited by IFOR forces, or rather by a group of irresponsible soldiers from the U.S. contingent, in which they attempted to remove the flag of the Serb Republic from a flagpost, is becoming a serious affair and problem in Doboj.

The IFOR command in Doboj described it as an inappropriate gesture by the members of the peacekeeping mission, announcing the first details of the investigation into the incident. The information service of the Nordic-Polish brigade of the IFOR unit tasked with monitoring implementation of the Dayton Agreement in this region announced that the investigation will probably continue, because it is being conducted directly by the command of the multinational division of Sector North in Tuzla. [passage omitted]

B-H: Serb Officer on 'Combat Readiness,' IFOR

AU0307084496 Bad Vilbel BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 96 p 14

[Article by Vlada Matevski on interview with Colonel Milorad Kutlesic, commander of the Bosnian Serb Army 301st Motorized Brigade; place and date not given: "Ready To Defend the Corridor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Milorad Kutlesic, the commander of the Serb Republic Army 301st Motorized Brigade, whose zone of responsibility is the most sensitive part of the Serb Republic—the region of Brcko—is the oldest colonel in the Serb Republic Army. He claims that the Serbs cannot relax for a single moment and that the army must be in a state of combat readiness in order to be able to "confront the aggressor if necessary and defend the results of the four-year war."

"The peace on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is not real. This can be concluded easily on the basis of the latest statements issued by Muslim leaders and the leadership of the so-called federation. They keep on repeating that they are making preparations for a war and that they do not accept the Dayton agreement. This was confirmed recently by Alija Izetbegovic who said in Gorazde that 'there is no freedom and peace as long as a unitary Bosnia does not materialize and the Drina River is not reached.' This means that we have to make preparations and keep our army ready to respond to attacks and to defend the corridor if the worst happens," Colonel Kutlesic explains.

U.S. Provocations

Asked about the relations with the U.S. forces within IFOR [Implementation Force], Col. Kutlesic shook his head.

"The Americans often provoke both the inhabitants of Brcko and our army with their behavior. They carry out helicopter overflights over Brcko every day, drive their combat vehicles and jeeps on the town square, and do similar things. I always explain to them that there is no need for them to go around fully armed, with their weapons directed at everything that moves. It is not clear to me whether this is their patrol style or whether they are carrying the weapons in order to dispel their own fear. On several occasions, I have told the commander of their battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Tony Cucol [name as transliterated], who is stationed in the vicinity of the town center, to ease the unnecessary tension, and I have asked them not to drive through the downtown area at top speed. He always listened to me very carefully and promised that it would not happen again, but nothing changed."

Demobilization Problems

Col. Kutlesic says that the army must be transformed because of the new conditions and that more modern and powerful units from the point of view of their combat readiness and personnel strength are necessary.

All soldiers of the Brcko brigade were demobilized after the signing of the Dayton agreement, but they are still members of their unit.

"The transformation of our unit is under way, and every soldier knows where he has to report and what his duties and responsibilities are if he receives a mobilization order. If necessary, our brigade can deploy at its positions with its complete personnel in an extremely short period of time," Kutlesic claims.

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The commander of the 301st Brcko Brigade explains that the personnel were demobilized at an order of its superior command and on the basis of the Dayton agreement.

"We now have problems because the demobilized soldiers, who spent four years in the trench with a gun in their hands, do not have jobs now and cannot keep their families. The conditions have to be created for the opening of factories and the creation of new jobs in general, so that the former soldiers can return to normal life," Kutlesic says.

[Box, p 14]

Nasty Behavior

"The opening ceremony of the Business Fair that was held in Brcko recently was interrupted without any reason by U.S. troops allegedly on a routine patrol, but they carried their machine guns directed at the people," Col. Kutlesic says.

"We have to behave in line with the Dayton agreement, and the U.S. troops are absolutely safe, so we just cannot understand such nasty behavior."

[Box, p 14]

A Native of Zlatibor in Posavina

Col. Milorad Kutlesic was born in the village of Kraljeve Vode [King's Waters], which is now Zlatibor.

"After the war, the name of my village was changed to Partizanske Vode, [Partisans' Waters], and today it is only Zlatibor," Kutlesic explains with a smile.

He graduated from the Belgrade Military Academy for Land Forces in 1972 as one of the best students in the 25th class. He completed the two-year Academy of Military Politics and has performed duties from platoon commander to brigade commander, which he performs today.

B-H: Defense Minister Views Future of Serb Republic

AU0307115396 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 96 p 5

[Interview with Milan Ninkovic, defense minister of the Serb Republic, by Slavko Jovicic; place and date not given: "We Created Our State, Rifle in Hand"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the four-year defensive war, the armed forces of the Serb Republic, primarily the Army of the Serb Republic, has managed to defend the Serb nation from a multifarious enemy. Through the armed struggle and the political as well as state activities of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] and state organs at all levels, we have created the Serb Republic. The Dayton agreement has also brought peace in the Serb lands.

[Jovicic] The bloody and hard four-year civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is over. Minister Ninkovic, your ministry has given a huge contribution to the heroic struggle of the Serb people. What are its peacetime tasks?

[Ninkovic] By signing the Dayton peace agreement, the world has verified the Serb Republic as a basic legacy of the Serb nation's struggle. Regardless of the fact that the Dayton agreement was basically imposed and did not fully acknowledge all the results of this defensive war, this agreement preserves the vital national interests of the Serb people.

In spite of the fact that in this phase of the political struggle, we have not succeeded in reintegrating into the Serb Republic lands that have for centuries belonged to the Serbs, peace and a peaceful solution have no alternative for the Serb people.

In times of peace the main work of the government and its departments, in addition to conducting activities that have been prescribed by the peace agreement, is building and strengthening the state in all spheres, reviving the country's economic system, restoring [words indistinct]

[Jovicic] What are the peacetime activities in the Serb Republic army?

[Ninkovic] The general staff, the individual army branch headquarters and all the army units are carrying out significant activities to demobilize our soldiers, organize the peacetime army, repair all necessary equipment and machinery, reconstruct the army infrastructure as well as carrying out regular teaching and training of army units.

[Jovicic] After the war, a large number of Serb Republic soldiers were demobilized. The present authorities owe a lot to the defenders of our state. What will the government and your ministry do to take care of the demobilized soldiers, because those who have contributed the most to the creating of the Serb Republic should not become a welfare category in our society.

[Ninkovic] The demobilization of our soldiers is in its final stage and has been carried out in keeping with the Dayton agreement. The economy of the Serb Republic is not capable of employing all those demobilized soldiers, particularly those soldiers who were once employed in companies that have remained on the territory of the Muslim-Croat Federation. A special problem is

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employing demobilized soldiers who, in keeping with the implementation of the peace agreement, had left the territories and working places that went into parts of the Federation. I should also like to point out that on the territory of Serb Sarajevo many economic facilities had to be relinquished that before the war had employed over 50,000 workers. The government of the Serb Republic has worked out concrete programs for revitalizing the economy in the republic, and a substantial portion of these programs was registered with international financial organizations as part of the economic aid for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have formed a special foundation in the Serb Republic for the work, education and professional rehabilitation of our demobilized soldiers and the funding for this will be provided by the World Bank. So, our demobilized soldiers cannot be a welfare category, nor will their position in society be resolved through welfare programs, on the contrary, this category should be treated as the most labor-efficient.

[Jovicic] Everyone knows that economic recovery is burdened by many difficulties and that the Serb Republic's financial possibilities are very limited. But nevertheless, what measures is the government of the Serb Republic taking to resolve the complex problems of employment and the material position of the demobilized soldiers?

[Ninkovic] Until we can create conditions for employment, we must provide financial aid to the demobilized soldiers through the employment office, including housing for their families and financial aid from the companies where they were formerly employed before the war. The soldiers who fought in the war and thus helped create the Serb Republic must have priority in employment as well as in resolving other problems of their families' situation, and these conditions must be created by our government on all levels. The Serb Republic has prepared a comprehensive package of system laws (the law on privatization, the law on abandoned property, welfare, veterans' social security, etc.) that will determine the rights of the war veterans and their special priorities in implementing these rights.

[Jovicic] At the last session of the assembly of the Serb Republic the delegates voted to pass the amnesty law. Since this law is not familiar to the general public, we would like to know to whom this law will apply.

[Ninkovic] At its session held on 19 June of this year, the assembly passed the amnesty law. This law pardons all persons who in the period from 1 January 1991 to 14 December 1995 violated Article 213 of the Serb Republic penal code, in other words all persons who committed criminal acts against the armed forces of the Serb Republic and all persons who committed illegal acts of disseminating different kinds of information and concealed weapons and explosives.

[Jovicic] By the same analogy, which persons are not covered by this law?

[Ninkovic] The amnesty does not include individuals who have committed crimes of premeditated murder against other persons and persons who are citizens of the Serb Republic, individuals who have not responded to or avoided military service (deserters), which in all international legal systems is considered a serious crime against people and state.

[Jovicic] The defense ministry has done a lot in providing fuel, transportation, etc. during the greatest exodus of Serbs from Sarajevo. What are all the things the ministry provided?

[Ninkovic] During the evacuation of people and facilities from Serb Sarajevo, as well as from other areas of the republic (Odzak, Borci, Olovo, Krajina) the defense ministry mobilized all available transportation and other technical and material resources from companies and individuals from throughout the republic. We engaged all available army transportation vehicles. In addition to mobilizing human and material resources, the government and the defense ministry provided around 3,000 metric tons of fuel for the transportation of refugees as well as economic facilities. I would like to point out that these activities in relocating business companies and people from Serb Sarajevo were carried out in impossible weather conditions, bad road conditions, which required the additional use of machines to repair the roads we had to use. I also have to say that with gigantic, superhuman exertion, this enormous and complex operation was resolved and completed.

[Jovicic] Have all the military, economic, and industrial capacities been removed from the areas that were reintegrated into the Muslim-Croat Federation?

[Ninkovic] All serviceable and over 80 percent of the other economic capacities from the area of Serb Sarajevo have been relocated to the territory of the Serb Republic, and activities are under way to activate these facilities in their new locations, for which purpose the government has allocated significant initial financial resources.

[Jovicic] Let us again return to the Dayton agreement. Has the military part of that agreement been completely fulfilled?

[Ninkovic] The government and state leadership are resolved to strictly implement the peace agreement, which means to implement the preservation of a lasting

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and stable peace, because this is a prerequisite for democratic processes in the Serb Republic and its economic development. As for the military part of the agreement, we have respected all the provisions in time, and in that respect I, as defense minister, am completely satisfied.

[Jovicic] Recently the disarmament agreement was signed in Florence. However, the Muslim side is rearming. Is this, in addition to the constant intimidation of Alija Izetbegovic, a new threat to the army and the people of the Serb Republic?

[Ninkovic] The other side is arming itself on a large scale, in other words, they are preparing to continue the war, and we must not be so naive as to not take these threats seriously. We must work seriously in developing and strengthening our defense. The defense ministry is trying to improve the quality of our defense, which means creating a professional peacetime army nucleus, which will have state-of-the-art weapons and which will be able to be the main striking power of our defense. We must also create conditions for the mobilization of all combat structures in the army as well as all other army structures for the defense of our country. In addition to professional army units, we have proposed the forming of special armed police units, as well as armed border units to control the borders and fight against outside terrorist groups. In times of war, such police forces would be under the command of the armed forces of the Serb Republic. If by September we succeed in carrying out the planned tasks in reorganizing and modernizing the army and if we manage to build a unified and complete defense system, we will have the ability to defend ourselves against possible aggression.

As far as the agreement on disarmament and stabilization of relations in the region, signed in Florence, is concerned, I must say that this agreement is basically unfavorable for the Serb Republic, because in terms of possession of tanks, armored vehicles, airplanes, helicopters, and heavy artillery weapons, it has created a relationship of 1:2 in favor of the Muslim-Croat Federation, both from the complete military supremacy of the Muslim-Croat Federation, both from the aspect of material and technical as well as human factors of war.

[Jovicic] But why then was such an agreement, which is, as you say, unfavorable for the Serb Republic, signed at all?

[Ninkovic] We signed the agreement only because we opted for a peaceful solution, and because by the signing of the agreement we have definitely been recognized as a state entity, which means that the focal point of future disagreements and conflicts over the division of military potential, will shift to the Muslim-Croat Federation for sure.

[Jovicic] The defense of the republic is one the most important objectives of the entire population, and particularly the army. Is your ministry preparing any amendments or bills in keeping with the Dayton agreement, as well as the agreement signed in Florence?

[Ninkovic] In the coming period, the defense ministry will propose to the government and national assembly, a comprehensive peacetime defense system concept of the republic in accordance with the already adopted qualitative changes of the republic's economic and political system. In accordance with the policy in the area of defense and the new defense concept that the assembly of the Serb Republic will adopt, the defense ministry will very shortly thereafter prepare system laws in this sphere and submit them to the government and the national assembly to consider and adopt.

[Jovicic] Minister Ninkovic, what kind of cooperation exists between the defense ministry and the general staff of the Serb Republic's army? Are there any discrepancies?

[Ninkovic] Throughout the entire war, the defense ministry has been directly cooperating with the general staff of the army and all other Serb Republic army commands, because this was a prerequisite for carrying out the legally established authority of this ministry. It is true that there had been certain misunderstandings regarding the authority of the defense ministry versus the general staff of the army, but these were mainly the consequence of the inaccuracy of certain articles of the defense law and the army law. These inaccuracies will be corrected in the new laws according to which all administrative duties in the area of defense will be under the defense ministry, while duties relating to the direct command and training of the army for conducting armed conflict will be conducted by the general staff and lower-ranking structure and units of the army.

[Jovicic] What is the response to the public competition the defense ministry has announced for new students of military high schools and the military academy?

[Ninkovic] The response every year is much greater than the planned number of openings, which means that we are able to select good quality people. In making the selections for these military schools, we give priority to children of Serb Republic soldiers who were killed or wounded in the war.

[Jovicic] I suggest that we leave military topics for a moment and talk about the current political situation. Only a month or two ago, the now former prime minister

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of the Serb Republic, Rajko Kasagic, wanted to dismiss you. Do you know the reasons for this?

[Ninkovic] It is true that the former prime minister had demanded my resignation, though he never told me the reasons for that. Personally, I think that the reasons were because of my views, and the views of a great number of ministries, that regarding individual issues of the Dayton agreement it was necessary to define a special platform or position that the government and the state leadership should adopt and strictly adhere to in its negotiations with the international community or the Muslim-Croat Federation. As it was, this turned out to be the basic reason for the dismissal of Prime Minister Kasagic.

[Jovicic] The new prime minister, Gojko Klickovic, is trying to create a situation in which all the members of his cabinet will work as a collective. Is this the real path, a path with fewer mistakes?

[Ninkovic] All the cabinet ministers, myself included, accepted the endeavor of prime minister Gojko Klickovic to have the entire cabinet work and make decisions collectively, but each one of us should be individually responsible for the state of affairs in his own sphere of duty.

[Jovicic] At the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] elections you were recently reelected chairman of the municipal committee of the SDS in Doboj. This also means that the members of your party and the citizens trust you. In that context I ask you: Will the SDS win in the September elections?

[Ninkovic] I see my re-election to this post as the greatest obligation to my party and as the desire of the party members together to finish the job we started of creating this state. As for the upcoming elections in the Serb Republic, I am certain that the people will place their trust in the Serb Democratic Party, because the SDS is the only and the greatest guarantee that their state will be created and defended, and that the national interests of the Serb people will be preserved.

[Jovicic] Doboj, as well as the lovely region around Doboj have given a lot to the struggle for liberation and to preventing the genocide against the Serb people. How great is that contribution?

[Ninkovic] All Serbs in the Serb Republic, including those in and around Doboj, suffered terribly and made an enormous contribution in this war, a contribution to the creation and defense of their state. Through the entire war, the town of Doboj was on the front lines of defense of the Republic of Srpska, and therefore it was exposed to remorseless shelling, so its citizens proposed that our town be proclaimed a "hero-city."

[Jovicic] The Day of the Serb Republic and its family feast-day [Orthodox krsna slava] is Vidovdan [St. Vitus's Day, which is the anniversary of the battle of Kosovo in 1389], our first feast in freedom. On behalf of the editorial board and the many readers of the newspaper OSLOBODJENJE we wish you and all the members of the army of the Serb Republic and all its citizens, a happy holiday. What does this holiday mean for you?

[Ninkovic] Vidovdan is a very important holiday in our ancient and our recent past, and therefore we have an obligation to keep this day in preserving the peace and freedom of the Serb nation.

B-H: UN Experts Await Serb Permission for Body Retrieval

AU0307120796 Paris AFP in English 1159 GMT 3 Jul 96

[by Edina Neretljak]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 3 (AFP)—A Finnish forensic team due Wednesday to start retrieving the remains of around 100 Moslem men in the Srebrenica region of eastern Bosnia will not start work before it gets clear security guarantees from Bosnian Serb authorities, a UN spokesman said here Wednesday.

"The position of the Finnish group is clear, if there is no clearance in the forthcoming next days they will leave at the end of the week without starting this very important humanitarian project," UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said here.

The nearly 20-strong team of forensic experts was due to begin retrieving the badly decomposed bodies of the men which have lain on the hillside at Kravice near Srebrenica since the former Moslem enclave was overrun by Bosnian Serb forces last July.

The team, working under the auspices of UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights Elisabeth Rehn, arrived at the site Tuesday accompanied by four Bosnian Moslem officials, a group of UN police and a pack of journalists, but were unable to start work because of lack of security guarantees, Ivanko said.

The authorities of the Republika Srpska [Serb Republic], the Bosnian Serb entity that, with the Moslem-Croat federation, makes up post war Bosnia, initially approved the project.

"It seems they had a change of heart and they are now playing hard-ball with the UN Centre for Human Rights" that organized the project, Ivanko said.

The UN head of the recovery operation, Roman Wieruszewski, told journalists at the site Tuesday that

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he hoped the team would be able to start work around midday Wednesday.

He said he expected to receive final permission papers from Serb police later Tuesday.

Ivanko said however that Dragan Bulajic, head of the Serb exchange commission, sent a letter Tuesday to the centre saying that no authorisation had been given by the Republika Srpska authorities to go ahead with the project.

"He comes up with a number of very pathetic reasons why the project cannot start," including excuses that the references on the site were given late and that the area has not been cleared of mines, Ivanko said.

"This shows a complete lack of understanding of how important the project is, a complete lack of sensitivity on the part of the Serb authorities and it shows their duplicity," Ivanko said.

He added that the office of Carl Bildt, the top international official overseeing the peace implementation process in Bosnia, had asked Biljana Plavsic to see the issue was resolved.

Plavsic, a Serb vice-president, was named Sunday acting president.

The forensics team, which also works under the auspices of Manfred Novak, the UN expert for missing persons, was due to start working last week.

The team was escorted to the site Tuesday by UN policemen, but not by the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) which does not provide security "to investigators per se," IFOR spokesman Canadian Major Bratt Boudreau said.

Ivanko said that the Human Rights Centre did request support from IFOR but had been told IFOR would only provide general security in the area.

Teams from the UN war crimes tribunal have worked closely with IFOR in the past in the same area.

B-H: Security Council Urged To Reimpose Sanctions on FRY

AU0207190896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Muhamed Sacirbegovic, ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the United Nations and special envoy for the implementation of the Dayton accords, has sent a letter to the UN Security Council, in which he demands, on behalf of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, that necessary measures be taken pursuant to the commitments toward the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. The future of war and peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina is in the hands of the UN Security Council, reads the letter, pointing out that some signatories to the Dayton accords are not only avoiding their commitments toward the Tribunal, but are also directly undermining the Dayton accords. Sacirbegovic recalls that the Security Council expects this body to take action. Envera Selimovic reports:

[Selimovic] One year after bringing the first indictments and over six months since the signing of the peace agreement in Dayton, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government is the only side that is fully implementing its commitments toward the Tribunal in The Hague, reads the letter sent by Sacirbegovic to the UN Security Council. The permanent Bosnia-Herzegovina envoy to the United Nations and special envoy for the implementation of the Dayton accord recalls that not even the member countries of the Contact Group, being the sponsors of the accords, have fulfilled their commitments and principles specifying that the responsibility for the implementation of the agreement lies with the signatories. The support and direct participation by the sponsors of the Dayton accords and by the international community in general are still necessary, just as the intervention of the international community to reintroduce sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro has also proven to be necessary, Sacirbegovic points out. As for the Tribunal in The Hague, the Bosnia-Herzegovina envoy suggests that if certain things on which the logic of the Tribunal is based, being the arrest, investigation, and trial of the accused, are not going to be implemented, then the establishment of the Tribunal outside Bosnia-Herzegovina was needless. Therefore, one cannot assert that IFOR [Implementation Force] is not in charge of the arrest of indicted individuals, the Bosnia-Herzegovina envoy says, recalling that one cannot accomplish reconciliation by avoiding justice. The Bosnian Government would never sign an agreement by which it would deprive its own people of justice, Sacirbegovic says, and again points to the failure to arrest and extradite individuals indicted for war crimes. The formal renouncement of an office is not a sufficient step by somebody who is indicted for war crimes, which is apparent in Karadzic's case, who is setting his own conditions, instead of being unconditionally arrested. The arrest and extradition of [word indistinct] of Dayton, according to the statute of The Hague Tribunal, is a condition for free, honest, and democratic elections and for the reintegration, reconciliation, and peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If those indicted are not brought to trial, this will mean an end to the Dayton accord, Sacirbegovic says in his letter, reiterating that the UN Security Council should impose sanctions on those who are avoiding their commitments

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toward the Tribunal and calling on IFOR to arrest and extradite them.

B-H: Casado Meets Mostar Mayors, Praises Voters

AU0207143596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jul 96

[Report by Halil Sefka—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the announcement of the first unofficial results of the Mostar elections, according to which the list of the Citizens for Unified Mostar won the greatest number of mandates, EU Administrator Casado met today in Mostar separately with the mayors of both parts of Mostar, namely Mijo Brajkovic and Safet Orucevic. Halil Sefka reports from Mostar.

[Sefka] Speaking about the reason for today's meetings, EU Administrator Casado, after talks with Safet Orucevic, mayor of east Mostar, pointed out that, before the elections, there were many pessimists who considered that citizens of Mostars would not be able to hold peaceful and free elections. Those pessimists' opinions were denied in the best way by the Mostar citizens themselves, who went to the polls in a peaceful and orderly manner, thereby making possible the establishment of new city institutions, Casado said, and continued:

[Casado, in Spanish with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] I have also conveyed to Mr. Orucevic the congratulations from mayors of 16 Spanish cities. I am also conveying to him an invitation for a meeting with my government's prime minister here in Mostar on Monday. The only thing that remains to be said now is that the process of normalization of institutions [as heard] has started. I can only congratulate all the voters in Mostar.

[Sefka] At the end of his statement for correspondents, Casado [words indistinct] of the EU will make the final decision on 15 July this year on the future of the EU administration in Mostar.

B-H: Opposition Leaders Assess Mostar Elections

AU0307105696 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 96 p 3

[Article by Se. Kurtovic: "The Division of the Town Has Won"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Mostar elections were won by those who waged the war and divided Mostar. This was stated by Stjepan Kljuic, president of the Republican Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Sarajevo on Tuesday.

He said that the Joint List, which, in addition to the Republican Party, also includes the SDP [Social Democratic Party], the HSS [Croatian Peasants' Party], the UBSD [Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats], and the MBO [Muslim Bosniak Organization], is waiting to see the results of the reintegration of Mostar, which are supposed to be achieved by the winners of the Mostar elections.

"Had the political will existed, Mostar would have been reintegrated before the elections," Kljuic said.

According to him, the Joint List entered the elections handicapped by many factors, primarily by the lack of access to the media, activities abroad ("the diplomatic service is working for only one party"), and of course, the behavior of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], which do not like each other, but do get on very well.

"The failure in Mostar should perhaps discourage us, and would represent an even greater motivation for us to emigrate," Kljuic said.

Speaking on behalf of the Joint List, Zlatko Lagumdzija, vice president of the SDP of Bosnia-Herzegovina, congratulated the winners of the Mostar elections, especially the candidates from the Joint List.

"We will be behind you and the policies that you will represent at the September elections. Mostar has shown that an alternative does exist and that there is a fair number of people who voted for the alternative to division. We will enter the general elections with the same platform. The most important thing is to show that there is a sufficient number of people prepared to defend the principles for which we fought in Mostar," Lagumdzija said.

According to Mujo Kafedzic, vice president of the MBO, the elections in Mostar have confirmed that a political force without power in its hand has difficulties in affirming itself as it is exposed to violence.

"We were not given a chance to hold a meeting in Mostar, distribute leaflets, or appear on television. We only had one appearance on the radio. The Joint List must not form its list in Kiseljak, Busovaca, Vitez, and Sanski Most. [sentence as published] The ruling party is physically obstructing our appearances and our people," Kafedzic said.

He said that, after the Mostar elections, the Joint List will analyze its appearance and decide on the tactics for the September elections.

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B-H: HDZ Head Says Croats Buoyed by Mostar Elections

LD0207182096 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Following his talks with Croatian President Tudjman in Zagreb today, Bozo Rajic, president of the [ruling] Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, spoke to journalists about the elections in Mostar and the September elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Rajic recording] Speaking about the elections in Mostar, it is with satisfaction that I can say on behalf of the Croat people, represented legitimately by our party in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that the elections were held in an atmosphere of general delight, even among those who have not been favorably inclined toward us. It was an atmosphere of tolerance, respect for others, with not a single incident, and subsequent statements by some influential players from Europe and the European mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina about the conduct of the Croats in [Croat-controlled] western Mostar make us very satisfied and proud.

When it comes to organizing elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we shall approach this task as responsibly as the Mostar elections at the personal, organizational, and political level. We shall submit all the lists on time, and we shall contest these elections, heartened by the experience and message of the Mostar elections, which is that as a people, as a party, we are close-knit. We shall fight the elections, convinced of our victory, just like we did in 1990. The configuration of forces is not crucial, and relatively speaking, it could be different, but we know that the Croat people are united, more united than some outsiders would admit. [end recording]

B-H: Article Views Difficulty Creating Central Bank

AU0107092296 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 96 p 12

[Article by Adi Hadziarapovic: "National Bank Is Target of Criticism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the Bosnians had flatly refused it in the federal Assembly, a political consensus on the establishment of the Federation Banking Agency was reached under pressure from the international community. This was yet another "blow" to the National Bank of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, since an important part of its responsibilities has been taken away from it.

Admittedly, it is stated in one of the provisions of the Law on the Federation Banking Agency that it will exist only until the establishment of the future Central Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in other words only temporarily, but this need not be the case if it is not incorporated into the Law on the Central Bank.

Need it be reminded that the Federation partners were bitter opponents of any kind of Central Bank or unitary currency in Dayton? "The international community insisted very much on establishing the Agency," National Bank president Kasim Omicevic told us.

Avalanche of Evidence

Something completely different is hidden behind the thesis about the equality of commercial banks in the Federation, which was one of the key arguments used by the Croatian side. The banks from that part of the Federation have never required a operating license from the National Bank of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is necessary for opening accounts abroad. In order to obtain a license, the work of the bank, its accounts, their real owners etc. have to be checked. The reports about the origin of the money and the real owners were the main reasons—apart from political—for the disregard of the signals that regularly came from Sarajevo, since this could release an avalanche of evidence about illegal practices, money laundering, and similar phenomena.

The urgent establishment of the Agency, which is to the disadvantage of the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is a sign of the beginning of the reconstruction and the development of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which—to a large extent—goes through commercial banks.

International factors that know that the Federation does not function even proposed that one Bosnian and one Croatian bank have the same position in that business. The bank concerned on the Croatian side is a bank from western Herzegovina, and on the Bosnian side the SAB Bank, managed by Zeljko Raguz. Kasim Omicevic, president of the National Bank of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, still hopes that the cooperation of that institution with the Federation Banking Agency will function, but there remains real suspicion that it might—like many other federation bodies—work on the principle that "the control should be performed by each party in its own territory."

Everything going on in this field is followed very closely in the Serb entity. Their regulations for the work of banks are far below the federation and the international level, and they are aware of the fact that many banks do not meet these criteria since they are being kept alive artificially. It sounds absurd, but it is true that applications for Serb ownership of

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the Privredna Banka Sarajevo and Jugobanka on the territory of the Federation are being made....

Flight of Money

The relations between the future Central Bank and commercial banks in both entities, 40 of them with small capital stock, will be of exceptional importance. Foreign experts have let us know that supervision of banks by the entities will be inefficient.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar was introduced on 14 August 1994, and it has drawn the attention of experts, since it has survived in almost impossible conditions and despite the wish of a part of domestic and foreign factors to either devalue or abandon it before a future single currency is created. It has never been accepted in the other part of the Federation as the legal or practical means of payment.

The official currency there is the Croatian kuna, the German mark and the U.S. dollar, and it is surprising that no central bank has been established yet. The complete system of payments is connected with Croatia, although there are strict restrictions toward it after a huge flight of money.

There is a functioning central bank in the Serb entity. Apart from the Yugoslav dinar, checks are also used, the value of which is 30 percent below their denomination. There must be joint money according to the Dayton agreement, but for various reasons the negotiations on this topic have not been successful. The Bosnian side learned from bad experiences and used one of the most famous international experts, Mr. Wei Ding, in the negotiations.

Manojlo Djoric, the Serb Republic Central Bank president, stated cold-bloodedly after he had talked with Scott Brown, the head of the IMF mission for Eastern Europe, the main sponsor of the negotiations, that the Serb Republic had to have a currency, since it was a proof that it was a state.

Presidents Are "Laid Off"

Although he tries to be as neutral as possible, Scott Brown is exerting the biggest pressure on the Bosnian side. It is interesting to observe Federation Finance Minister Bilandzija's behavior when Mr. Brown is in Bosnia-Herzegovina, since there usually follows a legal regulation that causes a fuss. Sources from the ministry claim that the two of them have become friends all of a sudden.

If Kasim Omicevic, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina National Bank president, wants to speak to Drago Bilandzija, he has to wait up to three and a half days with various explanations! The Federation finance minister is undoubtedly an excellent expert, but the way in which HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] monetary policy is implemented in some situations is perfidious, though it might seem justified at first sight.

His deputy, Mrs. Mirsada Curcic-Selimovic, is either not nearly as good as he is, or the problem lies elsewhere. Worrying is also that fact that Mirsad Kikanovic, the finance minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is increasingly being pushed into the background, especially since it is known that the monetary policy will be created on the level of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The most difficult and complex task of the future Central Bank president, who will be a foreigner, will be the establishment of a unitary monetary system in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It will be necessary to follow gross domestic product, the use of facilities, prices, employment etc., which is exceptionally difficult in the present circumstances. The function currently performed by Carl Bildt in the political life of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the future Central Bank president will have to perform in the field of economy for the next six years.

Caught in the Middle

In the negotiations about future monetary institutions, the Serb entity of Bosnia-Herzegovina is mostly led by Novak Kondic, their finance minister, a Pale hardliner and a Karadzic favorite. Although they were told by Milosevic that he did not intend to finance the Serb Republic because of his own problems, Kondic insists on it all the time.

The Croats feel superior because of their power and the convertibility of their currency, the kuna, so that Bosnia-Herzegovina is "caught in the middle" between the two entities and an indecisive judge. The negotiations have been held in Banja Luka and Medjugorje up to now, since the Serbs do not want to come to Sarajevo.

B-H: National Bank President Confident of Bosnian Dinar

AU0107095296 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 96 p 12

[Interview with Kasim Omicevic, president of the National Bank of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Adi Hadziarapovic; place and date not given: "The Bosnia-Herzegovina Dinar Will Endure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Hadziarapovic] How are the negotiations about the establishment of a future Central bank, which has been foreseen by the Dayton agreement, developing?

[Omicevic] Real negotiations have hardly begun.

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[Hadziarapovic] The main sponsor of these negotiations is the IMF. What has the cooperation between the National Bank of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that institution been like so far?

[Omicevic] We have excellent cooperation with the IMF and with other international organizations. Since we became an equal IMF member on 20 December 1995 we have paid all the debts that were due. They have offered us great support so far in the establishment of financial institutions, which are taking on their constitutional role. The IMF has already drafted a bill for a future central bank, which we have studied and which we want to criticize is some points. The law about a future central bank should be adopted immediately after the election in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that all preparations have to be made. I also hope that we shall receive an IMF loan for the maintenance of future money stability.

[Hadziarapovic] We have had a worrying report that the possibility that the three existing currencies will remain valid in Bosnia-Herzegovina was mentioned too often in the latest session of the negotiations. What does it mean?

[Omicevic] There were some sort of talks about that topic, but it is a question how someone understands it and what kind of a conclusion he expects. If we want to trade with the "Glinica" Factory from Zvornik, for example, we have to create conditions to pay with anything, simply speaking, until a single currency is introduced. The only possibility for trade between the parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina with various currencies is by paying in German marks. This is how it was started in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina last year.

[Hadziarapovic] Does it mean that payment transactions will be performed in German marks until a single currency is established?

[Omicevic] Exactly, although I have the information that in border areas, in Loncari and Dobrinja concretely, the Serb Republic accepts the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar too, but these are only minor transactions, and they are probably illegal.

[Hadziarapovic] Does this mean specifically that apart from permanent attacks on the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar we do not have to worry about its stability?

[Omicevic] We should not worry about the value of the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar, and we shall not be confronted with the situation that commodities are paid only in German marks. We shall endure both the internal and external influence on the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar.

[Hadziarapovic] Is it true that the Croatian kuna is stronger than the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar in the territory of central Bosnia?

[Omicevic] I have not checked this information, but it is possibly true. The kuna is strong, but it is a foreign currency. Even under ideal conditions transactions are made in the currency of a neighboring country in border areas. Some states declare this legal, some do not. From the point of view of the economy, this situation can even be normal; this need not be pointed out. It is a problem from the political point of view—it is only natural that people are bothered by it.

B-H: Struggle To Protect Bosnian Dinar Described

AU0207100696 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 96 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Bosnia-Herzegovina Dinar Runs Its Hardest Race"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The hard struggle for the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar continues. Although it has been thrown out of the federal Institute for Payments Circulation ["Zavod za platni promet"], it continues to live in the republic institute. Every dinar that has been spent has coverage in foreign currencies. It is enough to take a look at the data from the primary emission (issuing of banknotes), at the dinar accounts of the participants in circulation and at the accounts of banks—and to be convinced that their amounts are equal.

Until 30 April of this year, according to the data of the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, around 13.5 billion Bosnia-Herzegovina dinars were issued. On the accounts of banks and the Institute for Payments Circulation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there was an approximate amount of 12.4 billion, and around 1.6 billion was in circulation. That is how big, if not somewhat bigger, the foreign currency reserves are. Which means that monetary policy is closely observed.

The daily policy with which, aware or unaware, we endanger our own entity, is a different question. Some have started erasing all the symbols of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, so why not erase the dinar as well.

The beginning was the paying of customs and of a special tax on high-tariff products exclusively in marks. Then, the licensing and the control of the work of commercial banks was "moved" from the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the Agency for Banking of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

To illustrate how much some have hurried to do so, it is enough to mention that by 30 June this must be transferred to the agency (to the amount of 75 percent),

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and the full amount by 31 December of the current year [sentence as published]. The bankers' race against time has turned into a fever. If they fail to do this in time, the bank will be erased from the judicial register.

The third attack followed with the announced issuing of another dinar—in Banja Luka. In that case, the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar would lose what it was given by the Law on Money from 1992, and 1994, the attribute of the only monetary unit and the only means of payment on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Of course, there is also the "Deutsch" [German] mark, which, since July 1994, circulates as the official currency in the internal payments circulation. Those who created that made a huge mistake. In one part of the country they legalized the kuna and Yugoslav dinar as the official means of payment, and thus endangered their own money. They should have known that our "neighbors," in proving their interest and sovereignty in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will promote their own money (particularly the kuna), in order to prove the worthlessness of the official money of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At this moment, the "Serbian Republic dinar" would even be good for the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar, if it were not related to the Yugoslav dinar. Maybe in the Serb entity they will make a mistake, and express their "statehood" in that way [sentence as published].

That is how money became politics. If it is politics, then it would be logical to protect the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar in every way, as long as we do not reach a proper agreement.

We should keep that in mind in shops, in companies, in institutions.

We should not believe the "well-meaning" suggestions, even if they come through the firm of the IMF [International Monetary Fund], to put the dinar on the same level as the kuna and Yugoslav dinar, money which illegally circulates on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Regardless of how "uncomely" it might be, it is nevertheless above them. In the existing constellation, it is even above the German mark.

B-H: Entities Reach Agreement on Payments System

AU2706153496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The representatives of the governments of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb entity signed an agreement on the integration [uvezanost] of the payments systems of the two entities at a meeting held in Sarajevo yesterday. This agreement will create possibilities for the citizens of one entity to make financial transactions with the citizens of the other entity and use German marks in doing so. This will make trade relations much easier. The integration of the two systems is expected to become fully operational next week.

The main characteristics of such a system are:

The German mark will be use in all transactions between the payments systems of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb entity, with due diplomatic respect to Germany. In order for the two payments systems to integrate immediately—which is the condition for the [word indistinct] system that will be applied throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina—the following steps will be taken:

A) At the beginning, all payments made between the entities will be channeled through the Federal Institute for Payments Transactions in Sarajevo, and the Service for Payments Transactions in the Serb entity in Sokolac. These two offices will perform the clearing once a week by physically sending German marks to the office in credit. The inclusion of other offices in the integrated system and different time lags within which clearing will be performed will depend on further agreements of the two sides.

B) The institutes for payments transactions will send reports to their ministries of finance at least once a week. These reports will contain information on the balances, clearing, and the volume of transactions. In this way, the ministries of finance will have an insight into the work of the institutes for payments transactions and will be able to guarantee the working of the system.

C) The taxation and banking regulations will continue to be applied in line with the appropriate laws.

This was stated by the office of the governor of the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: SDA Against Property Deals With Sarajevo Serbs

AU2606181396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In view of reports about reoccurring attempts to exchange houses and farms owned by Bosniaks for farms owned by Serbs from the Sarajevo suburbs, the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Priboj issues a statement for the public that reads: On this occasion we want to warn all owners of real estate in Priboj that any transaction or exchange of houses or land with Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina is illegal, pursuant to the Republic of Serbia's law on special conditions for real estate transactions. The Priboj authorities are turning a blind eye to violations of this law,

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because they want to change the demographic structure to the Bosniak people's disadvantage. The owners of real estate in Priboj who are deciding to exchange their property should be aware of the risk that they might definitely lose it, because it is not realistic to expect that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will thus participate in ethnic cleansing carried out in Sandzak towns. For the reasons stated above, we are appealing to owners of real estate in Priboj not to accept requests for exchange of property. We have a common fate, and we shall share it together, reads the statement of the SDA Executive Committee.

B-H: Plavsic Stresses Following Serb Republic Constitution

LD0207154096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 2 Jul (SRNA)—Only through the law and institutions of the Serb Republic can we implement the Dayton agreement, Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic, said today.

Commenting on the consent of the high representative of the international community, Carl Bildt, to talk to her, Plavsic said that he "agreed to use the possibilities of the constitution of the Serb Republic according to which she can perform the duties of the state president."

"We are so strong that no pressure from anyone will force us to do something that is not in accordance with the law," Mrs. Plavsic said.

Speaking about the elections due to be held in September, she explained that "there is a certain procedure for becoming a president, as well as a vice president," adding that "the best procedure is the elections."

The high representative of the international community, Carl Bildt, said that "the functions of the president have been transferred to the vice president in line with the constitution of the Serb Republic."

"We will follow the situation in the next two to three days in order to get assurances about this," Bildt said and added:

"It is true that a few weeks ago I refused to meet Mrs. Plavsic because the transfer at that time was a formality."

"We talked about some aspects of the implementation of the peace agreement, about the humanitarian situation, and about other issues which have been of importance in the last few days."

B-H: Plavsic Rules Out Karadzic, Mladic Extradition

LD0207153796 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic, had a meeting in Pale today with the international coordinator for civilian affairs, Carl Bildt. Zoran Zuza reports from Pale:

[Begin recording] [Zuza] Following the meeting, which was almost entirely devoted to the situation after 30 June when the president of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, handed his powers to Vice President Dr. Biljana Plavsic, a news conference was held at which Mrs. Plavsic said, among other things:

[Plavsic] This was the first official meeting since, under the Constitution of the Serb Republic, I took over the functions. We know, and Mr. Bildt has explained to us, that a vacuum has emerged in the realization of the Dayton agreements, but the misunderstandings have now been overcome and I think that today, we managed to coordinate certain principles on the basis of which we can maintain further communication.

By reaching this agreement, we have opened the way for implementing the Dayton agreement, which has largely been done. Today, we spoke about the media and the elections, and Mr. Bildt gave us explanations about international economic aid for the Serb Republic. We hope that at our future meetings, we shall work out the details and set some deadlines.

[Zuza] I warned Mr. Bildt that the Serb Republic's laws must be respected since there is no other way of implementing the Dayton agreement, the vice president of the Serb Republic said, adding:

[Plavsic] I think we are strong enough to resist pressures to do something that is against our law. As for the September elections, all I can say is something that you should be aware of. To become president or vice president requires a procedure, and elections are the best procedure. We can hardly wait for the elections to happen.

[Zuza] The vice president of the Serb Republic ruled out any possibility of the Serb Republic extraditing President Karadzic and General Mladic to the Hague Tribunal, saying that extradition is banned under Serb Republic law.

After the meeting, Carl Bildt said that he believes that from 30 June, all presidential powers had been transferred to Vice President Plavsic, adding that the transfer of power has been carried out in line with the

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Constitution of the Serb Republic and the spirit of the G7 agreement reached in Lyon. [end recording]

B-H: Bildt Said To Overrule Steiner on Karadzic Issue

MS0307102896 London THE GUARDIAN in English 3 Jul 96 p 11

[Article by Julian Borger: "Karadzic to Remain 'President'"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale—Carl Bildt, the international community's high representative in Bosnia, agreed yesterday that Radovan Karadzic could retain the title of "president" of Bosnian Serb territory, after receiving promises that the separatist leader would have no real power.

According to the deal with the Bosnian Serb leadership another hardliner, Biljana Plavsic, will take over "presidential functions", but Mr Karadzic will stay on as the head of the Serb Democratic Party (SDS), which dominates politics in Republika Srpska (the Serb-held half of Bosnia).

The deal, which lifts the immediate threat of sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs was greeted with scorn by Mr Bildt's critics, who described it as a climbdown.

Last week's G7 summit in Lyon demanded Mr Karadzic's removal from power and his delivery to the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague to face charges.

After a three-hour meeting with Mrs Plavsic in the Serb stronghold of Pale. Mr Bildt said he had been assured that there would be a "total transfer" of powers. "From the side of the international community, we will watch the developments over the next few days and carefully evaluate this."

Mrs Plavsic, a biologist and one of the ideologues of ethnic cleansing—which she once described as "a completely natural thing"—said she had no plans to deliver Mr Karadzic or other accused war, criminals to The Hague.

Sitting next to Mr Bildt, she said: "That is forbidden according to our law: Those who are accused answer only to our courts."

The formal transfer of power was first agreed last Wednesday, but it was left unclear whether Mr Karadzic would retain the title of president. The Bosnian Serbs appear to have won that argument.

Mr Bildt said he did not care what Mr Karadzic called himself. The Bosnian Serb leadership threatened to call new elections if Mr Karadzic was forced to resign outright, he said, preempting internationally monitored national elections due in September.

John Fawcett, a US analyst at the International Crisis Group (an independent organisation monitoring the implementation of the peace agreement), said: "It's absolutely spineless. Every time we try to manoeuvre with the Serbs, we lose. We have the force here. We should just make him go."

Mr Karadzic scored another apparent victory yesterday when Mr Bildt overruled his own deputy, Michael Steiner on the issue of SDS leadership. On Monday, Mr Steiner said the powerful role of party chief was a public function, so—according to the Dayton agreement—indicted war criminals like Mr Karadzic were barred from holding the office.

Yesterday Mr Bildt insisted that the job was legally a private function and therefore not proscribed by the Dayton treaty. The issue has brought to the surface a personal rift between the Mr Bildt and Mr Steiner which several of their staff say is handicapping the work of the high representative's office.

Yesterday's agreement was bitterly criticised by the Bosnian government.

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Croatia: Croatia Admitted to Membership of Council of Europe

LD0207181096 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At a regular session in Strasbourg, the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe, at the level of ambassadors, has approved a resolution inviting the Republic of Croatia to become a member of the Council of Europe. The procedures and ceremonies related to acceptance of Croatia as a member are expected to be established at a meeting of the Ministerial Committee in October.

The Croatian Foreign Ministry has expresses satisfaction with the positive decision of the Ministerial Committee. It believes this to be a further important step toward Croatia's fuller inclusion in European integration processes.

In this connection, the Republic of Croatia, continuing to fulfill all its obligations regarding the further progress of democracy, respect for human rights, and the rule of law, and in keeping with the highest European criteria and standards, will make efforts to establish lasting peace and stability in the region.

As a country in the European cultural area, the Republic of Croatia, as a full member, through its representatives taking an active part in the bodies and activities of the Council of Europe, will continue to contribute to the realization of the aims and values of this organization and to cooperation in Europe.

Croatia: Council of Europe Links Admission to B-H Election

AU0207152896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jul 96

[Report by Nada al Issa—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatia cannot be admitted as a full member of the Council of Europe before the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was stated in Zagreb last night, after the meeting of the Council's ministers in Brussels. Europe considers Croatia to be responsible for the progress of the September elections in our country. BH PRESS correspondent Nada al Issa reports from Zagreb:

[al Issa] The still unresolved situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the coming elections are the key reason for Croatia not being admitted as yet to the Council of Europe. This has been openly stated today by Croatian diplomats and has also been openly confirmed by the Presidential Palace. However, it is expected that the formal admission might be confirmed tonight at a meeting of the council of ministers, but its implementation would be delayed. That is, the decision would not be implemented for three months, after the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There have even been statements in Zagreb admitting and also claiming that in such a way it has been made clear to Croatia that it will be considered responsible for the progress and outcome of the Bosnia-Herzegovina elections. Reportedly, the mood in the Council of Europe toward Zagreb has improved following the Mostar elections, but VJESNIK claims, for instance, that some members of the Council of Europe still do not believe Croatia and even oppose its formal membership with the delay until the Bosnia-Herzegovina elections. All these things imply that Croatia will not actually be admitted into the Council of Europe before the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which means that Croatia's treatment by Europe depends on its behavior in Bosnia.

Croatia: Tudjman Receives Bosnian Croat Delegation

LD0207165796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jul 96

[Report from presidential palace by correspondent Zoltan Kabok]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the republic, today received a delegation of the presidency of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] for Bosnia-Herzegovina comprising Bozo Rajic, president of the presidency, Kresimir Zubak, member of the presidency, the vice presidents Ivo Lozancic, Jozo Maric, and Srecko Vucina, and general secretary Zdenko Cosic.

During the talks the resolve was noted of the Republic of Croatia and the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina to ensure that the Washington and Dayton agreements are implemented. Special emphasis was placed on the need to strengthen the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, in line with these agreements, to pass as soon as possible a defense law and to set up bodies of authority in the counties and the federation.

The importance was stressed of strengthening even further the links between the federation and the Republic of Croatia, as agreed in Washington and Dayton.

It was said in reference to the Mostar elections that they have proceeded in a peaceful and fair atmosphere and that the outcome demonstrates that the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the main party enjoying the most trust of the Croat people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In addition to President Tudjman, the following took part in the talks: Gojko Susak, Dr. Ivic Pasalic, Dr. Ivan Valent, and Dr. Ivo Sanader.

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Croatia: Transitional Police Force Takes Over in E. Slavonia

LD0207182296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, July 2 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] international force Philip Arnold said here Tuesday that all police duties in the Serb region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem have been taken over by a transitional police force subordinated to the United Nations Administrator American General Jacques Klein.

In a daily broadcast by Radio UNTAES, which operates on the frequency of the Serb Radio Vukovar, Arnold added that members of the joint police force appeared in UNTAES uniforms for the first time on Monday night at the Brsadin-Nustar crossing between Croatia and the Serb region where a small ceremony was held on the occasion.

This police force took over also the control of the Belgrade-Zagreb motor road, said Arnold and added that "their main task would be to maintain order and security."

The transitional police force 1,300-strong is made up of 1,150 Serbs and 150 Croats, commanded by the Serb Petar Djukic assisted by the Croat Josif Milicevic.

On the occasion of takeover, Djukic stressed in particular that he and his men were professionals who were indifferent as to which nation or religion they belonged. He voiced confidence that he would "succeed in securing peace and tranquility to every citizen in the region."

Speaking about the Croatian list with the names of 811 Serbs who would not be covered by the amnesty law, Arnold said that the Croatian government's explanation of this list was lacking precision and clarity. He announced that the UNTAES would raise this issue with the Croatian authorities in the coming days.

Arnold said that the UNTAES believed that those not covered by the amnesty may be accused solely on the basis of standards prescribed by international law and dealing with the question of war crimes.

He announced that the payment of Croatian pensions to inhabitants of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem would begin these days, while fuel supply should soon be stabilized in the region.

Croatia: TV News Program Ordered Withdrawn; No Reason Given

AU0207125596 Paris AFP in English 1235 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 2 (AFP)—One of Croatia's most popular television news programmes was ordered off the air in a new crackdown on the independent media, sources close to the programme's editors said Tuesday.

The Monday edition of "Slikom na Sliku" [Zagreb HTV Television] was pulled at the eleventh hour, sources said.

"Yesterday's programme was scheduled and all ready but the station management informed us the programme had been pulled without giving us an explanation," said a TV journalist, who did not want to be named.

Its evening slot was filled with an American movie.

The programme—which with an earlier evening news slot has the biggest audience in Croatia, about 25 percent of viewers—was launched at the start of the Serbo-Croat war in 1991.

The European Parliament and media organisations, including Reporteurs Sans Frontiers (Reporters Without Borders), have condemned a crackdown on the press in Croatia as an infringement of basic civil liberties.

Croatian authorities introduced new laws in March—which closely resemble those used by the communist rulers of the former Yugoslavia—to protect the image of right-wing President Franjo Tudjman and other political figures.

Two journalists from a satirical magazine, the first to be tried under the new laws, appeared in court last month charged with insulting the president.

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Poland: Hillary Clinton Meets Women Activists in Warsaw

LD0307094096 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0855 GMT 3 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 3 July—On Wednesday, the second day of her visit to Poland, Hillary Clinton, the wife of the President of the United States, met women active in voluntary and charity work. The meeting was held at the Belweder Palace. Mrs. Clinton was accompanied by Jolanta Kwasniewska.

The U.S. First Lady has been involved in charity work for many years. She also supports women's organizations. During her visit to Warsaw she will visit the children's hospital in Litewska street.

Poland: Official Says U.S. Policy on NATO Expansion Stable

WS0207123696 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 2 Jul 96 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Luczak: "Stable Policy of the Bill Clinton Administration; Toward NATO Without Any Inhibitions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The recent developments at the Capitol in connection with the enlargement of NATO do not give cause for alarm," Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka has told SZTANDAR.

"I do not think this can halt or slow the preparations for NATO to admit new members," stressed the deputy minister. He claims that the policy of Bill Clinton's administration is unequivocally stable in this respect. The statements and initiatives of a number of U.S. senators should be seen in the context of the political strife prior to the presidential elections. Karkoszka expects that the first group of Central European states will be invited to join the alliance during the NATO summit scheduled for December. "Only then do we expect to launch a fight to convince some of the NATO parliaments to approve the expansion," the deputy defense minister told SZTANDAR.

He spoke with us from NATO headquarters in Brussels, where the second round of talks of individual negotiations between Poland and the 16 member states started on Monday [1 July] (after the highly praised Polish discussion paper had been presented). Deputy Foreign Minister Andrzej Towpik is accompanying Karkoszka at the talks. Karkoszka also said that now that discussions at the political level are over, the time has come for a debate between Poland and the 16 member states on technical and military issues pertaining to our future membership in the alliance. Both deputy ministers are to present the Polish project of integrating with NATO structures elaborated by experts from the Ministry of National Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Monday's consultations focused also on specific training projects and command and staff procedures guaranteeing the Polish Armed Forces a minimum level of interoperability with NATO forces.

After a working session, the Polish delegation discussed specific solutions with diplomats and military experts from Germany and the United Kingdom accredited to NATO headquarters.

[Box, p 3]

Would we vote for joining NATO?	
Yes	83 percent
No	8 percent
[NOTE: Source and date of poll not given]	

Poland: Polish-German Naval Exercises End

LD0207192796 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Polish-German maneuvers have finished in Swinoujscie [northwestern Poland on Polish-German border]. A flotilla of missile craft of the German Navy from Warnemuende [due north of Rostock in northeastern Germany] had come to Poland at the invitation of the 8th Coastal Defense Flotilla. The maneuvers were held thanks to an agreement on cooperation concluded last year. Taking part in the search and rescue exercises were five German missile craft and a mother vessel; from the Polish Navy, two minesweepers, a rescue vessel, and a helicopter. A total of 350 Polish and German sailors took part in the exercises. Crews were exchanged before the sea exercises began. The Poles helped to put out a fire on a German vessel, and the helicopter winched up shipwrecked sailors from a rescue raft. The Germans helped stop a leak on our minesweeper. [passage omitted]

The Swinoujscie flotilla recently concluded another cooperation agreement with the 4th Squadron of the Danish Royal Navy.

Poland: Kwasniewski on Concordat, Security Council, Elections

LD0207232396 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2049 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 2 Jul (PAP)—President Aleksander Kwasniewski is of the view that a decision on the ratification of the Concordat should be made

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by parliament no later than after the holiday recess starting soon. According to the president, the creation of a National Security Council is "close to completion." In his opinion, the best date for the parliamentary elections would be spring of next year, but this is something that deputies have to decide. Kwasniewski thinks that the coalition might last until the end of the present parliament's term of office.

In his Tuesday interview to PAP, the president said that the question being asked today—whether the new constitution should be adopted first, followed by the ratification of the Concordat—is still a theoretical question because progress in the process of adopting the constitution is still an unknown. Kwasniewski thinks that this process "will make good progress."

The president thinks that it is for the public good in Poland that one has to be bold and make a decision about an agreement with the Vatican. Whatever decision is made, it will be a difficult one because part of the public "will see it as being a defeat and will be frustrated by it."

Kwasniewski recalled his proposal that a government spokesman should explain at one of the Sejm sessions how the doubts voiced about the Concordat—doubts that he himself has, he admitted—have been cleared up or not as the case may be. The important thing is that information about the government's talks in this matter should be made available to deputies and public opinion. Only deputies are empowered to decide—either yes or no—and they should decide after hearing all of the arguments. "There is no longer any possibility of trying to find another way out. It is high time a decision is made," he said.

The president thinks that the talks conducted by the governments of Cimoszewicz, and earlier by that of Oleksy, to clear up the doubts surrounding the Concordat are correct. He added that it is not only politicians who are voicing doubts about the Concordat: "They are rife among the public. A decision at some stage by parliament—either for or against ratification—should clear them up," said the president, adding that he would like such a decision to be made no later than after the parliamentary recess, which starts in July.

Kwasniewski said that there have not been any talks about his visit to the Vatican. He recalled that the pope has been invited to next year's Eucharistic Congress in Wroclaw. "No doubt, this will provide an opportunity for us to meet, but I do not know if there will be an opportunity before that," he said.

Asked if the National Security Council [RBN] will perform only advisory functions, the president cited provisions from the constitution from which it emerges that the answer will be yes. "This means that by using their knowledge and experience in the sphere of foreign policy, security, and armament matters, the people who are members of it are to give the best possible advice to the president. But it is I who bear constitutional responsibility for any decisions. It was a misunderstanding from the very beginning to suppose that the RBN might become a political body for the head of state or a 'collective president.' I said from the very beginning that I opposed the Council, which is not an elected body, being some sort of 'miniature parliament.' This is to be a Council helping to formulate the tasks of domestic and foreign policy."

According to the president, the appointment of the Council is "close to completion." But he did not want to give the date on which this will happen. He regretted that "the first stage of creating the Council took too long"—a stage conducted by Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

—In your view, what is the best date for holding parliamentary elections, spring or fall 1997?

—I spoke about this before I became president. In general, the best date for the parliamentary elections is the first half of the year because that means that there is then time to form a government and for that government to prepare a budget. This is really the only argument that supports this. (...) Is this enough to convince the Sejm? I rather doubt this today because it does not appear to me that this line of argument will convince two-thirds of the deputies. It is only they who can decide on this date. If this is not what they want, I think that the elections will be held in the middle of September of next year. This has its good points, too. For the first time in democratic Poland, we will have a situation in which the parliament and the coalition will have lasted—I hope—the whole period between elections.

—In your view, is the coalition strong enough, despite the recent friction, to carry on until the fall of next year?

—The coalition is, above all, aware that the alternative to its collapse are early elections, which would mean a defeat for it. I do not think anyone would like to hold fresh elections with such a feeling. I think this coalition will do more than stay the course and is more than likely to carry on afterwards and that this is not the end of the road for it. I have told the leaders of both the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] that they should use their time at this moment to carry out what is in their election program and what society expects. People really do not want any conflicts any more and, even less, any conflicts within the coalition. I know of many people who view arguments of this kind to be "a waste of time." (...)

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According to the president, the elections in 1997 will be very important because the shape of the political scene in Poland for the next few years will depend on them. "I think that the elections in 1991 were a reflex of political freedom (several groups in parliament) and in 1993 an attempt at political decision making (because no one voted for the SLD by accident). In 1997, the elections will, in my view, stabilize the political scene. What appears in the left wing, the right wing, and the center will more or less be the shape of this scene for many years to come."

The interviewers were Ludwik Arendt and Zbigniew Krzyzanowski.

Poland: Concordat Decision To Follow Adoption of Constitution

LD0307105396 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0945 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 3 July—The Sejm decided in a vote on Wednesday that the decision on the Concordat would be made after a referendum that is to adopt the new constitution. The amendment to the Sejm resolution on the procedure of the ratification of the agreement with the Vatican, which envisages this solution, was passed with 199 deputies voting for, 170 against, and 11 abstaining. The deputies voting for the decision came from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the Union of Labor [UP], and the Polish Socialist Party [PPS]. Voting against the measure were the deputies from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], the Freedom Union, the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], and the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR].

According to the amendment prepared by the SLD, the work of the Special Commission dealing with the agreement between the Holy See and the Polish Republic will be extended until the new constitution is passed in a referendum. Only then is the commission to present to the Sejm a report on the compatibility of the Concordat with the new constitution.

Earlier today the deputies rejected a motion tabled by a group of deputies from the KPN (and also from the PSL) suggesting that the Special Commission be disbanded and the ratification procedure commenced as soon as possible.

Poland: Poll: Large Support for Solidarity Initiative, ROP

WS0207122296 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Jul 96 p 1

[Article by "KACH": "The Right Wing Rides the Crest of the Wave, the Left Still Holds the Helm"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For two months now, support for extraparliamentary right-wing parties has been steadily growing in opinion polls. For the first time, a poll has been taken that has included the recently established right-wing group of the Solidarity Election Initiative [AW "S"]. This group consists of the following: the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, the Christian-National Union, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Movement of One Hundred, the Center Accord, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms-Unified in Elections, and the Lech Walesa Institute. The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] remains invariably in the same position. The poll conducted by the Center for Research on Public Opinion for Karol W. Malcuzynski's "Forum" [television] program suggests that, if the parliamentary elections were held today, the AW "S" would be backed by 17 percent of the respondents (115 seats in the parliament). The SLD would garner 24 percent (170 seats). Its coalition partner, the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], would get only 9 percent (60 seats). As many as 13 percent of the respondents would vote for the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland [ROP], as a result of which this party, which is not represented in the parliament today, would receive 90 seats in the future parliament. The Freedom Union [UW] would be backed by 6 percent of the respondents, which would allow the party to have 20 Sejm deputies. The German Minority would also have five seats in the Sejm. The results of the poll show that the Union of Labor [UP] would be a big loser in the elections—merely 4 percent of the respondents endorse this party. As a result, it would not have any representatives in the parliament. As many as 23 percent have not decided yet for whom they will vote. Despite the fact that the unified right wing is gaining more support, the SLD and the PSL remain the biggest parliamentary parties (230 seats).

However, if the ROP joined the AW "S," the situation would look different. Then the AW "S" would be the biggest force, with 205 seats. However, even if it had this many representatives, it would not be able to form an efficient government on its own. The government would remain in the hands of the governing coalition.

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[Box, p 1]

This is roughly how many parliamentary seats various parties would have if the elections were held today:

SLD—170

PSL—60
UW—20
AW "S"—115
ROP—90
German minority—5

[Box, p 1]

How Poles Would Vote Today

	Percent
SLD	24
AW "S"	17
ROP	13
PSL	9
UW	6
UP	4
Bloc for Poland	1
Other center-right parties	2
Other parties	1
Undecided	23

* * *

The poll was conducted between 21 and 25 June on a random sample of 1,064 Poles of voting age in cooperation with Tomasz Zukowski, Ph.D.

Poland: Tombs Desecrated at Warsaw Jewish Cemetery

WS0207144496 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY (STOLICA supplement) in Polish 2 Jul 96 p I

[Article by "MIKI": "The Jewish Cemetery on Okopowa Street; Desecration of Tombs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Unknown delinquents completely destroyed 66 tombs at the Jewish Cemetery on Saturday [29 June].* "This sad discovery was made by employees who attend to the tombs; they saw what had happened when they were making their routine round on Sunday morning at 0900. At 1700 on Saturday everything was still in order," Boleslaw Szenicer, director of the cemetery, told ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

A few dozen old tombstones were completely destroyed. Plaques bearing the names of the people buried in the tombs were smashed and scattered. The culprits did not write any anti-Semitic slogans on the tombstones. "It was probably an idiotic gambol made by juvenile delinquents. We will probably rule out nationality related motives," we were told by Wola [Warsaw district] Police Chief Witold Boniecki.

The losses incurred by the families of those whose tombs were destroyed are estimated at approximately 20,000 zlotys. Many of the destroyed tombs are about 200 years old and of considerable cultural value.

This was not the first such incident at the Jewish Cemetery on Okopowa Street. "The first devastation was made in 1991," Boleslaw Szenicer recalls. "Then vandals did not confine themselves to breaking tombs. They also wrote a number of anti-Jewish inscriptions," Szenicer explained.

The cemetery on Okopowa Street is practically the only such cemetery in Warsaw that is still functioning. Its age is estimated at approximately 200 years. There is yet another Jewish cemetery; it is located in the Brodno district. However, this one had been closed down because it was almost completely destroyed.

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Romania: Daily Profiles New Head of Mission to NATO

AU0207181296 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 27 Jun 96 p 2

[Article by Radu Tudor: "Appointed Through an Order of the National Defense Minister, Brigade General Gheorghe Rotaru Is Romania's New Military-Diplomatic Representative to NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Through an order issued by the Minister of National Defense Gheorghe Tinca, Brigade General Gheorghe Rotaru, deputy head of the Department for Defense Policy and International Relations, was appointed military-diplomatic representative at Romania's Mission to NATO. Gen. Rotaru is thus replacing in this office Brigade General Paul Sarpe, who is concluding his mission in Brussels and returning home, where apparently he will be placed in the reserve, in accordance with the statute on military personnel. In NATO military circles it is being said that this replacement is intended to improve the effectiveness of demarches on Romania's integration in the North Atlantic Alliance.

Brig. Gen. Gheorghe Rotaru was born on 2 October 1947 in Bucharest. He graduated from the Military High School in Breaza, the Higher Military School for Transmission Officers in Sibiu, and the Academy of Higher Military Studies, in military science and electronics, and attended a postgraduate course in strategic studies at the University of Westminster in London.

For several years, Gen. Rotaru was the commander of transmission subunits and units and he was the officer in charge of transmission operations in two army commands and in the Transmission Troops Command. Between 1983 and 1986 he was an active officer on the General Staff. In 1986, he became Romania's permanent representative in Cairo within the Joint Romanian-Egyptian Technical-Military Commission.

In 1988 he was appointed representative of the ICE ROMTECHNICA [military equipment manufacturing enterprise] in London.

In the 1990-93 period, Gen. Rotaru was Romania's military attache in London. In 1993 he was appointed chief of the Directorate for Political-Military Analysis and International Relations and in 1995 was appointed deputy to the head of the Department for Defense Policy and International Relations, Dr. Ioan Mircea Pascu, a position he has held up to now.

Rotaru is fluent in English, French, Arabic, and Italian. He is married and his wife Liliana is a Ministry of National Defense employee, while their son Adrian is a student, attending the second year of the Romanian-American University, International Economic and Financial-Banking Relations courses. Since January 1994, the launching of the Partnership for Peace, Gen. Rotaru has been attending all official meetings with NATO representatives in Brussels, Bucharest, Washington, and other capital cities.

He made a direct contribution to drafting some important documents such as: Document Introducing Romania, Individual Partnership Programs, and others.

Gen. Rotaru has been a member of the Romanian delegation in all bilateral Romania-NATO meetings, as well as in the meetings of defense ministers or chiefs of staff of NATO member countries with their counterparts in partner countries.

Soon, Romania's Mission to NATO will be separated from the mission to the EU. In order to revitalize its forces, the leadership of the Romanian state intends to appoint to the head of these missions young people with the suitable professional experience, who can speak and think easily in English and whose appearance and training can represent as accurately as possible Romania's value in the general context of European security.

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Slovenia: Thaler Previews Talks With Croatia's Granic

AU0207150896 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 2 Jul 96

[Report on interview with Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler by Nadja Pengov; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] It seems that Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler will have an important meeting with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic. The purpose of Granic's visit to Slovenia is to determine whether it is possible to reach an agreement on certain issues. If so, the prime ministers of both countries will meet this month. Nadja Pengov asked Thaler which issues had already been agreed upon.

[Thaler] It is known that there has been intensive diplomatic activity over the past few months. There have been agreements on legal ownership issues, the nuclear power plant, these last problems concerning health issues, and agreements regarding the division of debt according to the Rome Agreement. All these issues have been agreed upon. Some details and issues are, of course, still open, such as the past debts of the Ljubljanska Banka in Zagreb. The Croat positions on some issues sometimes change. In short, the forthcoming meeting should resolve these issues, and a decision should be made on the signing of the agreements themselves.

[Pengov] What about the agreement on the state border?

[Thaler] At the level of the diplomatic committee and the geodetic experts, intensive work is under way on this issue. That means they are moving from one land border sector to another, and the work will be finished in the foreseeable future. It will then be possible to move the remaining problems to higher levels. But there are relatively few of these. Even the debate over the maritime boundary is continuing. The positions there are clear, and no positive movement on this issue has be noticed on the Croat side recently.

Slovenia: Kucan Calls EU Role in SFRY Breakup 'Significant'

LD0207195796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 2 Jul 96

["Pool" item by Igor Saranovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, July 2 (TANJUG)—President of Slovenia Milan Kucan has said that 'the European Union had a significant role in breaking the former Yugoslavia' and that 'Europe will soon judge who is to blame for the bloody breaking of the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).'

Kucan was speaking on Tuesday [2 July] in TV Ljubljana's special broadcast which marked the fifth anniversary of Slovenia's secession.

Stressing that this former Yugoslav republic had hurried to arm itself even before 1990, because, as he said, it 'counted on the possibility of an armed conflict,' Kucan in fact denied his earlier assertions which said that Slovenia, with its unilateral secession, had not caused the disintegration of the former Yugoslav union.

After the plebiscite in late 1990, said Kucan, the Slovenian Government was assigned with preparing, in six months' time, a thorough project of gaining independence.

Thus he confirmed that Slovenia had not been ready to enter a confederation, as a solution to the Yugoslav crisis, whereas an apparent consent to such an option accounted only for a political play to buy time.

He said that the former Yugoslavia had already fallen apart at the time 'some sort of common state' was offered. He feared that 'something like this' was now happening regarding 'the current pressure on elections in the BIH (Bosnia and Herzegovina).'

Slovenia's involvement in international smuggling, trafficking and re-selling arms in the past few years, as Kucan tried to justify it, was due to the 'need to procure arms to defend Slovenia and to help Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims in fighting the Serbs.'

He simultaneously accused both the former and current governments of Slovenia of having dealt with arms smuggling and of having concealed financial gains on arms deliveries to Croatia, and later, to the Bosnian Muslims.

In overtones of emphatic confusion and appearing as if being at a public hearing, Kucan, in this TV broadcast, indirectly dismissed the possibility of running for another presidential term next year.

Slovenia: Christian Democrats To Hold Congress in Sep

AU2806162396 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Christian Democratic Party held a news conference today. Its president, Lojze Peterle, reported that the party executive committee will propose that the party council call the party congress at the end of September rather than June. The congress will not merely confine itself to the cadre changes in the two leading party posts in the party—the post of party vice president and that of Secretary General Vida

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Cadonic Spelic—but will decide on all leading posts in the party. [passage omitted]

Slovenia: Daily Interviews Kacin on Army Modernization

AU0307100296 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 10-11 Jun 96

[Interview in two installments with Slovene Defense Minister Jelko Kacin by Blaz Zgaga; place and date of interview not given: "Defense Minister Talks About Purchases for the Slovene Army"]

[10 Jun p 2]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The Size of the Slovene Army Will Decrease Along With Modernization

Ljubljana, 9 June—According to statements made by Slovene politicians, ministers, and officers, the unjust embargo on the import of weapons into Slovenia greatly hinders the normal development of the Slovene army [SA] and the equipping of the army with modern weaponry. Since the embargo is foreseen to last for another week, until 18 June, we spoke to Defense Minister Jelko Kacin about the future organization of the SA, the method of choosing the military equipment, the purchases made so far, about informing the public, about multipurpose military airplanes, and about the military vessel that will soon arrive in our [territorial] waters.

[Zgaga] Minister Kacin, it has come to a qualitative leap in the SA with the acceptance of the military doctrine of military defense. According to the doctrine, the current ratio between the regional and maneuver units needs to be changed from three to one, to one to four. What phase is the reorganization currently in and when is the desired ratio likely to be reached?

[Kacin] If it were only dependent on the will of the defense minister, then the reorganization would already have been made. Since the modernization of the SA is behind schedule, I have on a number of occasions decisively demanded that this process be speeded up. Some external manifestations of these changes have lately been noticeable especially in the area of air defense and support troops. I have signed a document on the establishment of the command of the military air force and air defense corps. This command has a different logic of use than the classical army. As we have almost reached the termination of the embargo, we have, with organizational interventions, created the conditions to begin doing tasks even on higher levels, and not only regarding the support of the surface army, in accordance with NATO standards.

Last month the pilots of the 15th Airborne Brigade and the officers of the 16th Airspace Control Battalion performed a number of tests relating to the use of the available technology for the control of air space. For the past few weeks the pilots have been performing actual simulations of aircraft interceptions in our airspace. The second tangible change is in the area of the support troops. On the occasion of the Artillery Day we presented some of the new equipment, and next Friday the first oath-taking ceremony will take place in the newly established artillery battalion in Slovenska Bistrica. The battalion is armed with 18 howitzers, of 105 mm caliber. This is a very important step forward in the reformation from the territorial defense into the army. During this reorganization we have, just like everywhere else in the world, taken the mortar weapons away from the artillery and distributed them to the infantry. The infantry has thus also got its own weapons of 120 mm caliber for indirect support and has become considerably more effective.

The greatest intervention this year is in the move from the two-phase serving of military duty, which has been practiced so far, to a uniform serving of the service in a military unit. The infantry has thus taken over a system that is in use in other branches [of the SA].

[Zgaga] According to the latest information, the SA is to have two corps, a number of brigades, united tactical units, and so on. Could you, in short, please describe the future structure of the SA?

[Kacin] In accordance with the doctrine of military defense, the highest operative command is the corps. That is why we have the beginning of a military air force corps, and we are preparing everything necessary for an SA corps that will unite the majority of the maneuver units and the peace time forces of the SA.

The size of the army will decrease in the years to come. This is enabled by the program of modernization and development of other army branches, which are taking the place of the infantry, which is numerically too large. This means that in the years to come we will be able to decrease the extent of the entire SA structure by at least a third of its current extent.

[Zgaga] How much is that in absolute numbers?

[Kacin] With units and commands totally expanded, the SA exceeds 3 percent of the population. In the next period it should not exceed more than 2 percent.

[Zgaga] Is it true that you have the greatest influence on the expert decisions made regarding the purchases of weaponry for the SA?

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[Kacin] The expert basis for the modernization of the SA is being produced by special groups of the TRP 2003 program, which is lead by State Secretary Bojan Suligoj. The decision on the direction of the search for possible suppliers, on the configuration of the equipment and weaponry is made up of many layers. It contains military expert factors, as well as economic, logistical, and other factors, where NATO standards play a special role. With all the decisions so far it was a case of a sovereign decision made by the profession. The decision is not based on the personal will or choice of the minister but on the testing of the products of possible suppliers under the requirements dictated by the Slovene terrain [vojskovalisce]. Although the NATO standards are a requirement, we are aware that the largest portion of the equipment will be used only and exclusively on the territory of Slovenia. That is why the utilization value and the practical testing of this equipment on our territory is the main factor on the basis of which we make our final decision.

[Zgaga] The artillery units have recently received new tow trucks of the Mercedes unimog type. Will these vehicles become the standard vehicles of the SA and gradually replace the worn out Tam trucks?

[Kacin] In the first phase we bought 30 trucks. This is a standard vehicle for artillery purposes. After it is tested by the artillery units and the unit for international cooperation, we will study whether this vehicle is suitable as the basic vehicle of the SA. There are a number of factors that need to be considered concerning long-term use. So far our experiences regarding the quality of the vehicle have definitely been very good, just as well as the experiences regarding the maintenance conditions and running costs, the purchase price, and the possibilities to secure compensation deals. The decision has not yet been made. The unit whose soldiers will take the oath for the very first time on Friday, 14 June, in Slovenska Bistrica, will have a large number of these vehicles and will also test them in all the conditions of use. After this test we will make a decision on further purchases.

[Zgaga] If the ministry does decide to make these purchases, will the Slovene industry also cooperate in the production of these vehicles?

[Kacin] The Ministry of Defense considers and supports the interests of the Slovene industry whenever it makes any purchases.

[Zgaga] How many Pilatus PC 9 military training planes will still be bought and when?

[Kacin] The purchase of Pilatus PC 9 planes is not foreseen in the purchase program for this year. This plane was chosen as a military training plane, and that is why we will arm them in the next phase and examine their utilization value, and gain experience in fulfilling military tasks. Only then will we be able to make decisions on the issues that you are mentioning. The use of the planes so far has shown that they are extremely effective, useful, multipurpose, that they do not demand difficult maintenance, and that they are easy to use. This is the best plane in its class. If someone does not believe this then the best proof of this is the American decision to purchase 715 such planes for their own use. In this case we had decided on this technology and begun using it before the USA.

[Zgaga] When will the patrol ship arrive, what type is it, and will another ship also be purchased?

[Kacin] One of the priorities of our defense system is also the coast guard. The coast guard includes a number of elements. From the weapons with which our coast is defended, as well as the territorial waters which are defended from the coast, to the need for vessels. We will introduce the first vessel to the formation of the navy unit in this year. We will make the future decisions after the ship is incorporated into the unit and its practical utilization. No country in the world has only one vessel. Even a number of military tasks are done in pairs. When a vessel is undergoing an overhaul one still needs an operational vessel. It is not possible today to give a final answer as to the total number of vessels.

[Zgaga] Could you tell us something more about the type of the vessel?

[Kacin] It is not one of the types that you have mentioned. When we receive the vessel, we will present it to the public and present all its technical, maritime, operative-tactical, and financial details.

[11 Jun p 2]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The Public Will Certainly Be Thoroughly Informed of the Extent of the Modernization

[Zgaga] Years ago you stated in OBRAMBA that at least eight multipurpose military planes are needed. Is this number still valid now that you are the defense minister?

[Kacin] If you were to ask foreigners, they would suggest considerably more, at least three squadrons. The extent of our defense system also depends on the coming closer to NATO, especially the extent of our air defense. I am personally striving for a solution that is adjusted and which demands the active cooperation of NATO. This decreases expenses, our burden, and obligations. It

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is not possible to guarantee complete air defense with our own money. This need is much more realistic with the division of responsibility and the active cooperation with NATO. It is primarily cheaper and realistic.

[Zgaga] There is a lot of talk among the public about F-16 planes. SA pilots have already flown in them. A model of this plane is also in your office. Does this have a deeper significance?

[Kacin] It is true that our pilots have already been in F-16 planes. The first to do so was the head of the SA General Staff—the pilots were among the last. But I do not attribute more to this than courteousness, the so-called VIP flights. I was also offered such a flight. Despite the danger that I may be misunderstood, I did not accept the offer.

When the purchase of fighter planes becomes the topical theme, then a number of offers will turn up. If you take a look at what is going on in other central European countries, you will see that four types of fighter planes are in use there: the Mig-29, which is already in use; the F-16, which is being offered by the Americans, the Dutch, and others; the F-18, which is being offered by the Americans; and the Swedish Jas 39. I claim that it is possible to satisfy the needs for the defense of Slovene air space with used planes as well. That is why we will be looking for solutions together with those countries with which we cooperate most directly, so that it will be most rational for our taxpayers.

[Zgaga] You have obviously already chosen the wheeled armored vehicle Valuk for our army. The vehicle was presented at the SA Day parade.

[Kacin] You conclude wrongly. A decision has not been made. We are still testing the Valuk. The decision will be made after we also test competitive armored vehicles on our territory. We will test Mowag's Piranha in the second half of this year. Since we are meanwhile establishing a unit for international cooperation, it will at first be equipped with locally produced BOV armored vehicles. With the practical use of the vehicles we will more easily determine the necessary parameters for the future armored vehicle of the SA. No decision has yet been made, and nor will one be made until we complete the comparative studies.

[Zgaga] As far as I know the decision regarding the upgrade of the T-55 tanks has already been made. What kind of modernization will this be and how much will it cost us?

[Kacin] What is most important for our public at the moment is that our tanks are getting a fire guiding system (FCS) made by the local producer Fotona. The FCS enables more precise and faster use and much greater military capability. We are upgrading the M-84 tank as well, for which Fotona is supplying a new FCS. We are planning to present the upgraded tanks at the Drava exercise in fall this year. We will inform the public about the costs of this upgrade when we present the upgraded vehicle.

[Zgaga] If the embargo is lifted on 18 June, can we expect the ministry to give the public more concrete information on the invitations for tenderers? Who is the tenderer, what is being offered, and so on?

[Kacin] Whenever we have made purchases so far, we have fully informed the public regarding the tenderers, the size and elements of the agreement, with everything that belongs to such an agreement. The invitations for tender are not always open. When acquiring a desired product, most countries invite the chosen possible suppliers in order to then find the best alternatives. That is how Slovenia is handling this and will continue to do so. I would like to draw your attention to the recent complications regarding the purchase of Israeli communications equipment. On that occasion not only the government's special revision committee established that the entire choice and procedure were in accordance with our and American legislature, but also the delegates. Concretely, an opposition delegate on the defense board, after inspecting the entire documentation that is being kept by the ministry, established that there are no more doubts regarding the choice made. Just today I read a report from one of the military attaches that one of the central European states has similar problems with a company because they did not choose its tender but someone else's. It is a battle for each individual order. I do not mean the countries, but the potential suppliers, the companies, which use all possible means to hinder all the decisions that are not in their favor.

[Zgaga] We now have two Westinghouse radars and some smaller ones of a shorter range. What kind of radars are the smaller ones, how many of them are there, and how many more are still to be obtained?

[Kacin] The Slovene air defense has been strengthened in the last period. We are primarily establishing an upgrade of the systems that we already have. The air defense forces have received a new Elta 2106 radar, which enables a very effective use of short range projectiles. The first radar has been in the country for a while now, and we are testing it in all the units that will use it operatively. Just now we are testing it at Cerklje airport, where it is functioning as a landing radar, although it is basically not intended for this purpose. This technology will be extremely useful in the

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next 15 years. The radar has a very low power output, so it is very difficult to detect.

[Zgaga] After the embargo is lifted, will the public find out about all the tests that have been undertaken and what the results were?

[Kacin] We will inform the public of the results after every decisive program of the modernization.

[Zgaga] How much money has been spent so far out of the defense fund, and how much of it is still left over?

[Kacin] Up to now we have made decisions regarding the use of a little less than 40 percent of the funds that are at our disposal. The actual use of these funds is much lower, though.

[Zgaga] Only this year or in all four years?

[Kacin] In all eight years.

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Federal

FRY: Agreement With UNHCR on Refugee Issue Signed

LD0207171396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1527 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 2 (TANJUG)—A cooperation agreement signed here Tuesday by Yugoslavia and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) should help solve the refugee issue both as regards their return home and as regards their remaining in Yugoslavia, Deputy Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic said.

Bulajic said, "this is an important day for Yugoslavia since this is the first agreement of the kind that the country has signed with a U.N. agency in order to make easier the resolution of a major issue."

Bulajic said he hoped the agreement would prompt the world to offer larger financial assistance to solve the refugee issue both in Yugoslavia as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially the (Bosnian Serb) Republika Srpska, because he said it would not be possible to repatriate refugees if conditions were not created for it.

Commenting on Serbs' return to Croatia, Bulajic said he hoped Croatia would improve its laws after strong criticism on the part of the international community because he said there would be no mass return of Serbs to Croatia if Zagreb did not offer strong guarantees for their personal safety and safety of their property.

Referring to elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina scheduled for September 14, Bulajic said refugees would prefer to vote in Yugoslavia although they had the right to go to Bosnia-Herzegovina and vote there.

In this connection, he said Yugoslavia had already drafted a proposal on opening a large number of polling stations.

Commenting on the Yugoslav-UNHCR agreement, Serbian Refugee Commissioner Bratislava Morina said she expected that now it would be possible to regulate the refugees status by law, which she said was essential for plans for repatriation and taking care of refugees.

FRY: Hague Tribunal Said To Accuse Only Serbs of Rape

LD0207223496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2229 GMT 2 Jul 96

["Pool" item by Vladimir Holovka]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, July 2 (TANJUG)—On the fourth day of the public hearing into the case of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and army commander Gen. Ratko Mladic, 'expert witnesses' testified that Bosnian Serb troops were under orders to rape Muslim women.

The 'expert witnesses' testifying before the Hague-based war crimes tribunal for former Yugoslavia never even allowed for the possibility of war crimes, including rape, having been committed by the other parties to the civil war—viz. Muslims and Croats.

Christine Clearen, Dutch professor of criminal law and member of the U.N. ad hoc commission investigating human rights violations in the Bosnian war, averred that rape had been systematically practiced in Bosnia-Herzegovina from April to December 1992.

Clearen said that the systematic rape had taken specific form and had been practiced with a view to intimidation and 'ethnic cleansing.'

It is interesting to note that Professor Clearen has reached her conclusions mostly from observation from Zagreb, Croatia, as she has never set foot in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Moreover, the observation was done three years after the alleged events had taken place.

Colin Kaiser of London testified to the destruction of Muslim religious facilities in Bosnia—mosques, to wit.

Canadian Captain Patrick Recknner, member of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), said he had been a Bosnian Serb hostage in their effort to stop NATO raids on Serb targets.

Observers of the hearing could not but notice the careful thematic layout of the proceedings.

After a 'historical introduction,' in which experts tried to show the 'roots of the evil,' with the Serbs as the only villains of all wrong-doing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the case progressed to rape, demolition of religious facilities and hostage-taking.

All this has gone to prove the guilt of only one party to the conflict, as though the other two had never even taken part in the war at all.

FRY: Parties Not Encouraged by Preliminary Results in Mostar

LD0207192896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1829 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 2 (TANJUG)—Political parties in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), in their reactions to Sunday's elections in Mostar, pointed out on Tuesday that preliminary results

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were not encouraging and were not raising hope in future joint life in that city.

Goran Latinovic, chairman of the Committee of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia (SK-PJ), voiced concern over the success of 'nationalist forces' at the elections in Mostar because, as he put it, there was the danger that this would happen also at the September elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH).

Latinovic told a news conference that 'the SK-PJ was expecting the September elections in the BiH to differ entirely from those in Mostar and that the progressive forces will succeed in prevailing over those nationalist and extremist.'

Ivan Kovacevic, spokesman for the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), voiced fears that, judging by the earliest data, the winners in Mostar would be the 'parties which ushered people into war' and, as he put it, this was not good 'for peace and the future of the entire BiH.'

Rade Veljanovski, official of the Social-Democratic Union (SDU), emphasized that it was not good for the future of Mostar that, to all appearances, the powers in it would be shared by the nationalist parties—the Muslim Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

Veljanovski, speaking at a news conference in the international press center, said that the triumph of the SDA and the HDZ could have been expected but, as he said, the favourable circumstance was that the people of Mostar would have the chance of seeing for themselves that their own leaders are the only people to blame for all their troubles so far.

He specified that the elections in Mostar were 'a test for all of Bosnia' and hence, as he said, similar results could be expected from the September elections in the BiH.

Serbia

Serbia: Generals Reportedly Warn Against Mladic Extradition

LD0307122996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 3 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 3 July (SRNA)—A group of 126 high-ranking officers of the Yugoslav Army has sent a letter to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic demanding that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serb Republic should under no circumstances allow the extradition of the commander of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic Army, General Ratko Mladic, to the Hague tribunal, NEDELJNI TELEGRAF reports.

The letter was signed ten days ago and among the signatories are several corps commanders. It warns President Milosevic and other members of the Supreme Defense Council "that the extradition of General Mladic would represent yet another great defeat of the Serb nation."

The letter warns that "the Hague tribunal was set up to completely humiliate the Serbs and that is why the extradition of General Mladic should be prevented. Despite a great personal and family tragedy, General Mladic has put his considerable military expertise at the disposal of the Serb nation."

The six-page letter was not signed by the Chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, Colonel-General Momcilo Perisic.

Serbia: SDU Official Calls on Karadzic To Withdraw

AU0207162896 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Jul (BETA)—Rade Veljanovski, a member of the temporary presidency of the newly founded Social Democratic Union Party [SDU], stated today that it would be good for both the Serb entity and all of Bosnia-Herzegovina if Serb Republic President Karadzic withdrew and ceased his influence.

At a news conference, Veljanovski said Karadzic's passage of his responsibilities to Serb Republic Vice President Biljana Plavsic was "yet another manipulation." Plavsic belongs to the same party and "to the same mental complex."

"This does not mean any difference in policy," Veljanovski said.

He said the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] and SDA [Party of Democratic Action] victory in the Mostar elections was "not good" for a united, civil, Bosnia-Herzegovina with good relations between nations, the kind the SDU is striving for.

"These results could have been expected and are the reality," Veljanovski said, adding that similar results are to be expected all over Bosnia-Herzegovina during the elections. [passage omitted]

Serbia: Libel Case Against Democratic Party Leader Opens

LD0207191996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 2 (TANJUG)—The trial of leader of the opposition Democratic Party

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Zoran Djindjic and Editor-in-chief of the TELEGRAF weekly Dragoljub Belic, charged with defamation of the Republic of Serbia, opened at the Belgrade district court on Tuesday.

Djindjic was sued for libel against Serbian Premier Mirko Marjanovic after an article paid by his party was published by TELEGRAF on January 24.

The article said Marjanovic had intended to illicitly come into possession of 200 million German marks by exporting wheat and importing gas from Russia.

Belic was sued for introducing the article in a front page box by saying, "by bartering wheat for gas, Marjanovic comes into possession of 200 million German marks and leaves Serbia without bread."

Djindjic said at the trial the aim of the article had not been to ridicule the Serbian premier, but to warn the public about what was going on and to stop wheat exports in order to secure the necessary quantities of flour for Serbia's bread industry.

He said the Democratic Party had wanted to draw attention to the fact that there were strange goings-on as regards wheat, that the country would be faced with flour shortages and that a number of Serbian ministers, who were at the same time company directors, were involved in the affair.

He said his party held nothing against Marjanovic himself, and said the article had hit home because just a day after it had been published the Yugoslav government had decided to reduce wheat exports from 1 million tonnes to 500,000 tonnes.

Djindjic said that, last December, Belgrade's Progres company had been granted a permit for export of about 1 million tonnes of wheat. Marjanovic is director of Progres.

The trial resumes on Wednesday.

Serbia: Commentary Assails Djindjic in Marjanovic Slander Case

AU0207195196 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 Jul 96

[Commentary by Dusko Petrovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hearings opened today in the trial of Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Democratic Party [DS], on charges his party slandered Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic in an advertisement published in the 24 January edition of the weekly TELEGRAF. The charges were filed by the deputy public prosecutor in the Belgrade regional court.

At the hearing, the DS leader changed his statement completely, stressing that he had neither referred to Mirko Marjanovic nor had he intended to accuse Marjanovic personally. He also said that he did not think Marjanovic himself had taken the money from the export of wheat.

Let us recall: The first sentence in the advertisement in the 24 January TELEGRAF says, and I quote: One of the greatest lootings of the state and the people is under way these days with the blessing of the Serbian Government, and for the benefit and profit of Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic, end of quote.

By changing his own statement and thus refuting himself, the DS leader has moved from the phase of slander, imputations, and insults to the phase where he is awkwardly denying his own words. The people have words to describe such behavior: immorality, cowardice, hypocrisy, manipulation.

During the investigation, Djindjic admitted that he had once been found guilty as charged [krivicno kaznjen], and today he admitted that it had happened twice, the second time for theft. This only confirms that Mirko Marjanovic was right when he brought citizen's charges against Djindjic for slander and insults. The DS leader is denying his own statements, but that does not free him from responsibility. That is up to the court.

By way of conclusion, let us cite some wise folk proverbs: A thief always cries "stop thief." An archer is known not by his arrows but by his aim. And it was confirmed again today: Lies are short-lived.

Serbia: Deputy PM Rules Out Kosovo's Independence

AU0207151796 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 1 July 96 p 2

[Report on statements by Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Ratko Markovic, made in an interview with Radio Kragujevac, by K. Katanic: "The Division of Kosmet: Unacceptable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Commenting on the numerous statements made about Kosovo and Metohija, starting from the one made by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dr. Ratko Markovic, deputy prime minister in the Serbian Government, said that theories were different views on the issue, but none of them was an official policy.

Nothing has been said about the division of Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] in any international document, nor in any of the views of political bodies. Such an opinion should only be voiced by someone who has

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a seat in the assembly. Therefore, we can talk about the future status of Kosmet, but what we have here is something excessive; someone says something, but does not have the authority to talk about it. No political constituency (voters) has been consulted, nor has there been any other kind of consultation in the Republic of Serbia, Dr. Markovic said.

He emphasized that national minorities, including Albanians, should have only minority protection, which means only the circle of issues that are connected to national idiosyncrasies. [sentence as published]

With regard to the coming elections, Markovic said that in terms of the elections and the state, the Albanians were citizens and there should be no ethnic discrimination. The Albanians have all their civil rights, but refuse to exercise them.

Serbia is a civic state in which the Albanians are citizens. They simply want a national state from the outset, in which they are the majority nation and, with the sheer weight of their numbers, they want to create two Albanian states and then to expand the Albanian state. I think that the law on electoral units is favorable for the Albanians, as it is for all the voters in general, and it will allow them to elect the best people to parliament and to make it possible really to establish a parliamentary life in parliament, so that parliament does not serve as a place for political discussions [as published], Dr. Ratko Markovic said in yesterday's statement to Radio Kragujevac.

Serbia: Academy Chairman Qualifies Remarks on Kosovo

AU0207135796 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Jun 96 pp 2-3

[Interview with Aleksandar Despic, chairman of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, by Andjelko Anusic; place and date and place not given: "Politics Is a Hat To Check in at the Cloakroom"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Anusic] Your speech about Kosovo at SANU's latest meeting, in which you tried to see the Kosovo reality—which is bleak—in a different way, has been sharply attacked on several sides in Serbia. To make matters even more absurd, you are accused of supporting Albanian separatists. How would you comment on this?

[Despic] The first thing you have to bear in mind is that my speech was addressed to SANU annual assembly. Since the meeting was not held behind closed doors, it could have been assumed that my speech would reach the public.

Regarding the sharp reactions you are talking about, I have to say that two very clear attitudes of mine went unnoticed by the Serbian press. First, we are not the ones who should make the decision now and say: Give up Kosovo, or do not give it up. Especially not the SANU members. This should be done by the generations that have been born recently or those yet to be born. Academy members should only warn them about a problem. Second, I said almost explicitly that the problem was not so acute that certain decisions should be taken quickly. We have time. We have 10 years to think about this problem, to see whether forecasts will materialize, or whether there are certain shifts.

I am quite certain in my views.

With a firm, clear and active policy of settlement the government could during the next 10 years—if not change—at least postpone the trend of abrupt depopulation. It could, in other words, try to postpone it for a century instead of for fifty years.

[Anusic] You are reproached for not having spoken about the Kosovo issue in light of the Memorandum [possibly reference to the "Memorandum" written by former FRY president Dobrica Cosic and issued by the Serbian Academy in 1986 outlining Serbian national aspirations]. Can you explain what the people who criticized you had in mind?

[Despic] My critics probably thought that the Serbian issue should be considered as a whole, which is not true. On other words, if Kosovo has to be given up on the one hand, it is necessary to unify the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the other, and so on.

There is no doubt about all this, but I talked about another problem, not this one.

[Anusic] Is it true that the Kosovo issue is being swept under the carpet?

[Despic] I cannot say this and I would not like to discuss it. It has already become a political issue. I think that the Academy, including myself personally, should refrain from doing that. I addressed this problem because I think that it is a strategic problem and an issue that goes far beyond daily politics. [Passage omitted]

Demographic Recession

[Anusic] You have touched upon this topic earlier, but I wish to ask you another question. Namely, the deterioration of the Serb nation has lately been happening in the demographic sphere. The white plague [demographic recession] has taken up residence in almost every Serbian home. The SANU has reviewed

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this issue on several occasions. Is there an antidote for the white plague?

[Despic] The antidote is an active demographic policy. The excuse most young married couples come up with today is that they do not have the means for a larger number of children. This reflects a certain dose of selfishness because you must admit that at the time when their grandmothers and great-grandmothers were having 10 children, the conditions were even grimmer.

Take Herzegovina, for example, where in the 17th and 18th centuries we had a demographic boom on that barren soil, and you can just imagine what life must have been like, but they considered children to be their greatest treasure. Of course, the young generation today has different demands and different ideals.

This demographic recession is not only characteristic of the Serbian people, but also of Europe. An active demographic policy would consist of granting special opportunities and benefits to couples with more children, so that they can devote themselves to raising the children; they should be granted material and various other forms of relief. What is given out as relief today is not enough to convince mothers to have more children. True, they have longer maternity leave, but that in itself is not enough.

[Anusic] Is SANU susceptible to political currents and changes in Serbia? Is there any party in Serbia that has a decisive influence on the Academy?

[Despic] I wouldn't say so. At one point, we did go through a political polarization and that was at the time when parliamentary democracy "appeared" in our society. However, people began withdrawing very soon, and I believe that we are now unanimous on one principle established by one of our great Academy presidents, namely, that "politics is a hat to be checked in at the cloakroom when one enters the Academy." Therefore, at this point there is no political polarization in the Academy. Such issues are not discussed at all. [Passage omitted on SANU cooperation with similar institutions worldwide]

[Box, p 3]

Headlong Into Depopulation

[Despic] The Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohije] issue was just a part of my address to the SANU Assembly, but obviously the most sensitive part. The main thing I wanted to achieve is to warn that in my opinion, the greatest problem of the Serbian people's future lies in demographic recession. In the past three wars, (when I say three, I also have in mind the recent one that was waged west of the Drina River), our people lost about 10 percent of their vital part. Second, a great number of our young people have left, and are still leaving today. Third, 1.85 children are born on average to a couple, which means that we are going headlong into depopulation.

As far as the Albanian people are concerned, they have the highest birth rate in Europe. One couple has an average of 6.6 children.

Therefore, assessments that by the middle of the next century the number of Serbs and Albanians in Serbia will be the same are quite realistic.

And not only that. There will be a great increase of other, non-Serbian population in the country long before the middle of the next century. They might even be the majority. Of course, in a civilized society that need not be a problem. However, in our circumstances and tradition, this could pose a serious threat to the fate of the Serbian nation, and could strip it of its right to be the master on its own soil.

Serbia: Kosovo Serb Petition to Milosevic Discussed

96BA0346C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 96 pp 12-13

[Article by Srboljub Bogdanovic: "Calling for the Messiah"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It all began when word went around among the Serbs in Kosmet that the Army was withdrawing—some say 30, some 50, and others even more kilometers from the Yugoslav border, which, from their point of view, was supposed to be yet another in the series of international arrangements of our peacemaking president. According to certain reports, the fear which has seized Kosovo Serbs regardless of party commitments has even reached the ears of Milosevic via Tomica Raicevic, the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] commissioner for Kosovo, and he responded to that that there are no treaties whatsoever that would call for anything of the kind.

The report of the Army's withdrawal, which was started in church circles, has been gaining currency in the form of stories that even the police stations have been withdrawn from some towns in Kosovo (Glogovac, Orahovac, and some others). These are places where the remaining Serbs are so few that the truthfulness of this report cannot even be verified.

Reservation

This kind of climate served only as a trigger for a reawakening of the movement of Serbs in Kosovo, and the Saturday before last a letter was drafted at a meeting

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in the Pristina library calling for the president of Serbia to come to Kosovo on 22 June and lay out for the Serbs his strategy of how the Serbian (rather than Yugoslav) state is going to treat this province.

"To tell us this—that the border will be here, down this street. Or for us to know whether there is going to be a Skipetar government, so that we can move out in time," runs one common line of thought in the streets of Pristina.

The Serbs in Kosovo still have a fresh memory of the way in which the Serbs left their homes in Knin and Bosanska Krajina. A fear arose that something like that could happen to them as well, and thus they understood what they had been afraid of earlier—that Sloba is not a "Serbian expansionist" but a politician who used the dissatisfied Kosovo Serbs when he needed them to consolidate his power, and it is to be feared that he is willing to renounce them to stay in power.

That meeting of the Serbs, which some call a "mini-congress," others a "Pan-Serb convention," and still others simply a meeting, also took the initiative for a large-scale collection of signatures on an invitation to Milosevic to come to Kosovo. The idea, of course, is not to be excessively polite, but to demonstrate their numbers and the new political imagery of the Kosovo Serbs resulting from authentic concern and mistrust of what the state is doing "in this region." The number of signatories changes by the hour, but it must be said that the drive to collect signatures is having a good response. At the time when NIN's journalist was in Pristina (on Tuesday), there were more than 30,000 names according to unofficial figures.

"The Serbian state could disappear forever, the legacy and the culture could be lost, the symbol of Serbism and the Kosovo myth could be extinguished. If we are silent, then we are accomplices in this murder," is the way it is seen by Dusan Ristic, a former distinguished Kosovo official and one of the most authoritative leaders of the Serbian Resistance Movement, who has today already withdrawn, turning the leadership over to younger people. Ristic sees the action of the Serbian state in three directions: "Establishment of the national interest, establishment of a way to realize it, and a program to return to Kosovo and to settle it. Why would not the Serbs driven out decide to live in Kosovo in compact Serbian enclaves? Experience has shown that where the Serbian settlements were compact, there were the fewest people moving out. Instead of that, the refugees who have come to Kosovo are living on a reservation to this day," Ristic says.

Kosovo Serbs were embittered by statements made by Tomica Raicevic in the state-controlled BORBA, where he referred to the most recent action of the Kosovo Serbs as nationalism, as "inciting enmity" which "marginalized groups and individuals" are undertaking "for their own personal interests," and so on. "Only now do we see that all these years we have been with people who wanted only power. When they talk about us today, they are using the same vocabulary with which they spoke about the separatists in Kosovo," says Momcilo Trajkovic, the only leader of the resistance movement there who is still active.

We have learned from sources who cannot be named, but who can be believed, that this statement actually comes from a speech he delivered in a meeting of the SPS in Pristina. Tomica Raicevic had already made the statement in Belgrade and forwarded it to TANJUG, and in the meeting of the SPS in Pristina he merely read that published statement. The dominant mood of the SPS members in Pristina, we have learned, was "quite different," and it was assumed that Tomica himself had refrained from harsh words so that he could first see the mood "at the grass roots." Mention is made along that line of the introductory address at that meeting of the Pristina Socialists, which supposedly had much more serious assessments about the situation in Kosovo than the actual letter which they decided to send from the "Pan-Serb convention" to Milosevic. In any case, the Pristina Socialists did not even mention the meeting of the Serbs in the library, whereby they avoided supporting them, but also avoided condemning them.

The realization that not all Socialists are the same can also be gained from the fact, as we were told in Pristina, that Branislav Iskevic, chairman of the SPS Committee for Science and Education, had exerted strong pressure for the new rector of the university in Pristina not to be elected yet in order to avoid election of Professor Papovic, who is a Socialist, but it seems that his ethnic position is too "hard" for the most recent taste of the SPS headquarters in Belgrade. Papovic was nevertheless elected.

It can be said without fear, at least insofar as worry about the future of the Serbs is concerned, that there is no difference between the Kosovo Socialists and those who are not Socialists. "It is a fact that all officials think what the people think, but they do not have the courage to speak out publicly, nor do they have the courage to be the leaders of a campaign: They are afraid of both the people and the top leadership of the party," Ristic says.

The State

It is not hard to imagine a situation in which Kosovo Socialists would part company with the views held by

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the party headquarters in Belgrade. What will happen in that case? "We have to respect party discipline. I suppose they might ask us to distance ourselves from the policy advocated by those who wrote the letter, and I believe that the Kosovo SPS will do that." The purpose of this approach is to give Belgrade an altogether free hand in dealing with ethnic problems, so as not to repeat what the Knin and Pale leaderships have done.

The key word in the Kosovo story is "state." Only an effective state can have the authority and strength to find a solution that would be acceptable to all. Moma Trajkovic is therefore rejecting the version in which the state would say: You reach agreement with the Albanians, we go along with whatever you agree on. Because the meeting of the Serbs in Pristina calling for Milosevic to come was attended by the deans of the School of Law and School of Economics, some people are hastily concluding that the university is playing a considerable role in this gathering of the Serbs. Dragisa Velickovic, docent of the School of Economics of Pristina University, dispels such suspicions: "The university is politically dead. The only political people are those who belong to the Socialist Party of Serbia."

Professor Velickovic, who is one of the people who presided over the meeting which sent the letter to President Milosevic, had this to say about his vision of a possible solution: "I know it sounds like rhetoric, but this is what I really think: A condition for any solution is a completely democratized Serbia in which human rights and all other rights would be protected. Serbia ought to be without territorial-political autonomies, but regionalized and well on the way to becoming part of the European Community. Then the Albanians would also have the possibility of free communication with their community."

Indifference

Velickovic, however, believes that the regions in Serbia would be districts which would have a degree of independence with their own separate assemblies. Asked how acceptable that conception would be for the Albanians in Kosovo, Velickovic replies: "None of this is acceptable to the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo at this point, because they see that Serbia is on its knees and that this is a historic chance to create an expanded Albania. They see that Serbia does not know what it wants, only one man knows what he wants. The Serbs are a nation in collapse—a nation to which anything could happen and everyone would be indifferent, and it is conceivable that the Albanian alternative might in such a situation turn out to be the maximum of their demands. We have to understand that the problem does not lie with them, the problem lies with us."

By contrast with Professor Velickovic, who is one of the distinguished figures of the new Serbian movement in Kosovo, Kosovo Socialists see every solution of the Kosovo problem exclusively within the framework of the present Constitution, which for them is Holy Writ.

Dusan Ristic recalls that the resolution of the Kosovo dispute does not presuppose only institutional solutions: "At the level of institutions, it is easy to guarantee parity and protection of the minority through various people's councils and the like. The problem lies in the majority rule which prevails everywhere, in the market, in trains, the schools." The old citizens of Pristina recall times when you could arrive to find the Hotel Grand half empty, and the desk clerk would tell you, a Serb, that there are no rooms in the hotel. You might complain, but do not forget that the one to whom you complain is also an Albanian.

The most recent initiative whereby the question of Kosovo would be decided by making it a federal unit within Yugoslavia is for the Kosovo Serbs almost the same thing as a final secession of Kosovo. For them, everything implied by "Skipetar government" is unacceptable, since this is something they could easilt achieve in this combination thanks to their numbers. This version has gained more weight, because it was advanced by Adem Demaci, who is said to be one of the more extreme representatives on the Albanian stage. The amount of distrust of the authorities in Belgrade is indicated by the fact that Dusan Ristic goes so far as to suspect that the signal to Adem Demaci that he should say that came "from our top leadership," by which he meant Belgrade. Ristic also thinks it indicative that international representatives are no longer saying that "Kosovo is Serbia's internal problem" but rather "Yugoslavia's internal problem."

"I'm Going..."

The Serbian representatives also display antipathy toward the solution suggested to them by the ascending JUL [Yugoslav Unified Left], which they universally describe as "a return to brotherhood and unity." In keeping with the current integration of the JUL and SPS, these ideas are becoming increasingly dominant in government circles. The Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, given the circumstances in which they find themselves, are objectively too strong in their nationalism to be able to tolerate the most recent ideological change of direction which the SPS is preparing. But neither is that nationalism what they imagine. Ristic himself sees it as a constructive aspect that among the Serbs, at least their more distinguished representatives, there is no longer extremism in the style of "drive out all the Skipetars" and the like. The solution, although it presupposes some

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kind of (vague) dualism, is nevertheless seen in both nationalities remaining and surviving in this region. In this connection, people are not really very ready to look at Seselj's most recent and typical promises that if he is offered the occasion, he will carry out a "disinfection" of Kosmet with an iron broom.

So fine, you say. What do they want?

They want the "state" to take interest in their problem and solve it. For a beginning, they want to see Sloba. We told them that Sloba would not come to them, and they say that they know that. It is clear that inviting Milosevic is only the initial phase of distancing themselves from Milosevic's nationality policy, which will threaten what up to now has been the undisputed primacy of the SPS in this region and will probably cause waves in the SPS itself. It is uncertain what the next step might be. One gets the impression that they do have ideas, but they are not telling us. Dragisa Velickovic says that his personal opinion is that it would be better to create a unified domestic Serbian party for Kosmet, but he also says that he is aware that such an idea is an illusion at this point.

How far they will go from Milosevic is also not easy to judge because Milosevic nevertheless has the power to exert a deciding influence on the status of the province, and if you want to get something from him, you do not want to make him mad. Reflections along the lines of "you elected him yourself" and "whoever plants pumpkins with Slobodan will have them broken over his head" neglect the fact that the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins have objectively been a threatened people and they embraced with both hands the first man who came and represented himself to them as their messiah. Today, they feel threatened once again, there is no doubt of that, but they are nevertheless not as naive as they were. We asked Moma Trajkovic whether he really thinks that Sloba will come? Trajkovic says: "There is a Kosovo song in which the hero asks whether to go to the wedding of his former sweetheart, and he reasons this way:

'Shall I go or shall I not?

'If I go, I will start a quarrel; if I don't go, I'll wish I had. I will go, even if I don't arrive.'"

Message: If he is a hero, he will arrive.

Montenegro

Montenegro: Opposition Opposes Redrawing Republic Boundaries

AU0207172096 Belgrade DNEVNI TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 96 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Montenegro Into Three Regions, Metohija and Sandzak Included"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Regardless of possible "propaganda games," "factual states of affairs," "information," or "denials" in connection with the preparation or completion of the new Constitution of the FRY, the urban planning ministry proposes to divide Montenegro into three regions, the coastal region, the central region, and the northern region. Namely, the Montenegrin Assembly will soon discuss the "scientifically and expertly" founded proposal, "changes and additions to the urban plan of Montenegro until the year 2000," which "brings" the regional development of Montenegro "into line with the valid division of the Republic of Serbia into regions," thus "avoiding a mixed" territorial organization of the FRY.

As soon as it reached the assembly delegates, this "proposal" triggered very differing comments, particularly by members of the opposition, who are always in favor of a "unique and indivisible Montenegro, with all the attributes of state." While waiting to voice their personal views at Assembly sessions, they told DNEVNI TELEGRAF that the proposal was only a "more gradual" version of the Greater Serbia project of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts through the "controversial" project of Academician Jovicic, in other words, that the Urban Planning Ministry had long ago indicated that the urban plans for Montenegro had conform to the regionally more developed divisions in Serbia. The people with whom we spoke claim that the possibility "is not farfetched" of Montenegro "again returning to its post-Balkan wars boundaries, that is, getting Metohija and parts of the Sandzak region." But this time, "without any rights to state attributes, because that is the only way to achieve the project that created the bloody Yugoslav crisis in the first place."

People here believe that the "following constitutional-legal situation in Montenegro and Serbia, in other words, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, will be established on the basis of an octagonal [as published] constitutional concept and that everything is being done to make Slobodan Milosevic the head of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but with powers stemming from the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia."

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Kosovo

Kosovo: Human Rights Group Protests Arrest of Albanian Writer

AU0207164796 Tirana ATA in English 1106 GMT 2 Jul 96

[Report by B. Jashari]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prishtina, July 2 (ATA)—Prof. Dr. Agim Vinca, an Albanian writer and professor in Ko. va University, was arrested Monday by the Serbian police in his house in Prishtina and was sent to jail sentenced with 15 days in prison due to a visit to Albania without a visa.

This sentence was taken by the Serbian Supreme Court on May 24, 1995, after Vinca's complaint against a verdict of Prishtina Communal Court against infringement which had sentenced him with 30 days in prison and confiscated his passport for three years.

A reaction of Prishtina Council for Human Rights [KMLDNj] said that Vinca's imprisoning was based on the absurd provisions of the former Yugoslavia law which demanded an exit visa only when a person entered Albania. It was a typical restriction of inner national circulation and discrimination for Albanians.

After continuous complaints of the international community this year it became invalid. Nevertheless consequences of this law continue and one of its last victims is professor Vinca.

The Forum of Albanian Intellectuals has also reacted against the sentencing of Vinca and through a letter to UNESCO and other institutions and associations asking his immediate release from prison and a pressure on Belgrade's Government.

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